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2[illegible] [illegible] 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Conversation at the Department of State on 21 March 1952. Present were Messrs. Joyce, Fretzmann and [illegible] from State and [illegible]ner, Lloyd and [illegible] from CIA.

Mr. Fretzmann had just returned from a trip abroad and said that he had three caveats to make about [illegible]. In order they were as follows:

1. He said that in the Greek [illegible], [illegible] and others complained of the activities of the stringers of [illegible]. These stringers, he said, sometimes posed as Government employees and went to embassies of other countries getting in touch with refugees without clearing with the [illegible] Embassy. At this point Mr. [illegible]ner spoke strongly, saying that he had told [illegible] several times that the [illegible] reporters must [illegible] in line. He said that he would repeat this warning and that the views of CIA and of [illegible] were identical on the problem. [illegible] the discussion [illegible] that of the two [illegible] in [illegible] who were involved — [illegible]ndowski and [illegible] — [illegible] had now [illegible] the specific problem, if not the [illegible], was solved for the moment.

2. Fretzmann [illegible] that [illegible] heard from several sources around Europe increasing [illegible] that there were [illegible] and [illegible] within [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] of our security. The manner in which [illegible] security [illegible] was outlined to Mr. Fretzmann [illegible]. Mr. [illegible], however, instructed Mr. Lloyd to [illegible] and to instruct him to warn [illegible] Czechs, Hungarians, etc. [illegible] operation [illegible] to infiltrate the [illegible].

3. Mr. Fretzmann said that he had recently met with Harry [illegible] and [illegible] policy guidance, at [illegible] wondered whether it would be in order for [illegible] guidance. Mr. [illegible]

14-00000

replied that in fact RFE did receive constant and frequent policy guidance but that the members of the top staff of RFE were looking for the type of policy guidance which did not exist -- a kind of overall global strategy covering specific incidents and eventualities, a kind of policy guidance which probably neither would nor could be written. Specifically he had no objection to showing the top people VOA policy line.

Finally, Mr. Kohler questioned the advisability of putting the new Russian Committee under the Crusade. He pointed out his fear that, what with RFE and RFA already under the Crusade, the Congress would soon believe there was nothing left for VOA to cover. Mr. Joyce rose to this question explaining the necessity of helping Admiral Kirk to find some cover. He pointed out that Messrs. Braden and Devine had been detailed to assure that Crusade publicity did not give the impression that RFE and RFA and any new "private" radio would obviate the necessity for the Voice, and assured Kohler that all Crusade publicity, posters etc. would avoid this possibility. Wisner mentioned his desire to find better cover for the new Committee and there was some talk of foundations. No better cover had, however, been found at the moment and it was apparent that Admiral Kirk must have some answer to questions which are submitted to him. Mr. Kohler answered this argument by reiterating his fears.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - DDCI (thru ADPC & DD/P)
1 cc - DD/P
1 cc - PP (Mr. Poor)
1 cc - PY
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

C-22

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : S/P - Mr. Joyce

DATE: February 19, 1952

FROM : EE - Mr. Barbour

SUBJECT: Fund Memorandum No. 62 of December 31, 1951 attaching copies of documents regarding the activities of the Central and Eastern European Conference (Slavik-Major Group)

Your attention is invited to subject memorandum which quotes a speech by Jerzy Lerski, Vice Chairman of the Polish Political Council's Working Committee in the United States, proposing the formation of a domestic political pressure group of American residents of Eastern European stock. In the course of his speech, Mr. Lerski repeats and endorses the official statement of Aims and Principles of Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent. This statement, particularly in its paragraph No. 3, proposes that their objectives should be obtained through "unified political action."

The Department is obviously in complete support of their basic objective, namely, the overthrow of Communism. However, we do perceive real harm in the utilization of NCFE funds to promote domestic political pressure groups; especially, when such groups will self-avowedly engage in political and election contests in the United States in order to further their objectives abroad.

Accordingly, we would suggest that steps be taken to ensure that groups which are sponsored by or supported through affiliation with NCFE be restrained from participating in or assisting such domestic political pressure groups as is proposed in subject Fund Memorandum. Such groups should be cautioned, in any event, to avoid any public declarations of intent to intervene in domestic American politics.

EUR: [illegible]:Pell:[illegible]

2/19/52

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

[illegible] 1952

C-22

[illegible] 3[illegible]2 SECRET PRIVATE

December 31, 1951

Attached to this memorandum are copies of documents regarding the activities of the Central and Eastern European Conference (Slavik-Majer Group).

(Peraki)

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CONFIDENTIAL

Sir,

On behalf of Mr. A. Cretzianu, Chairman of the last conference, and Dr. Constantine Fotitch, Chairman of the Serbian National Committee, Chairman of the next meeting of the Central and Eastern European Conference, I am inviting you and your political friends to a meeting of the CEEC, which will be held on Tuesday, December 18, 1951 at the Hotel Willard, Executive Room, Pennsylvania Ave. and 14th St., Washington, D.C., at precisely 3 P.M.

The Agenda of the meeting will be:

1. Report of the Secretary General on the meetings of the General Committee on the action of the CEEC on deportations, in Washington, New York, Paris, about the press conference in Washington, etc.

2. Report of Mr. Jerzy Lerski (Vice Chairman of the Polish Political Council, Working Committee in the U.S.) on collaboration with Americans of Central and East European Descent.

3. Report of Mr. V. Stanka on World University.

The report of Mr. Lerski is attached to this invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Dr. Juraj Slavik
Secretary General

* * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

(On Americans of Central and East European Descent)

From Jerzy Lerski, Vice Chairman of the Polish Political Council's Working Committee in the U.S., 618 A Street, [illegible], Apt. 15, Washington 3, D. C.

The last three decades of the past century and the first two of the present one, mark the period in which millions of the impoverished peasants of Central and Eastern Europe came to the happy shores of free America. There are now at least twelve million U.S. citizens of Central and East European descent. This is, of course, a most careful estimate. Congressman Kenneth B. Keating of Rochester, N. Y., in his

Extension of Remarks in the Congressional Record on September 15th, 19[illegible]1, gives the total number of these "loyal Americans" as 20,000,000.--I think it is rather too high an estimate. Even if we would include all Jews from those areas the number could hardly be higher than 15 million; this would be 10% of the total population of the United States. This work seeking, economic emigration from our countries was mainly concentrated in the big cities and the great industrial or mining areas, of the sixteen East and Mid-Western states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In some of those states these Europeans comprise about one third of the population. This applies especially to big cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Buffalo, Wilkes Barre, Trenton, Newark, Camden, New Britain, etc. One should also mention that not less than one fifth of this big emigration managed to find work on farms--in such states as Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska, Massachusetts, and New York.

The political importance of this great segment of American population is steadily increasing in the last twenty years. Nearly all the respective groups were concerned about the homelands of their fathers and grandfathers and became very active during World War II. Although, with the succeeding generations, third or even fourth, this interest has waned, due to the natural weakening of ties with the "old countries"--these new Americans, the sons and grandsons of the poor Central and Eastern European peasant emigrants are conscious of their ancestry. Educated in American colleges and universities, they are gradually emerging in American public life; their old inhibitive inferiority complex is rapidly disappearing. Let us study the Washington Telephone Directory. It is astonishing that at least every twelfth name is of Central Eastern European descent. I am not as familiar with other national groups and their achievements, but as far as Poles are concerned, we are proud to have Mr. Szymczak as one of the Governors of the Federal Reserve, Peter Zukowski the newly appointed Deputy Director of RFC, Mr. Mruk the Mayor of Buffalo and Mr. Czelusta Mayor of Toledo. I am sure similar successes can be claimed by other groups of our Central and Eastern European bloc. Most of these Americans are very helpful if properly approached. We have heard recently at a reception of General Bor-Komorowski a statement made by Major Alfred D. Sieminski a Democratic Congressman from New Jersey who offered his willingness to help the exiled leaders of all of our groups, in our efforts to liberate our part of the world. Similar statements have been made by other Congressmen of Polish descent.

The social advancement of our American brethren is visible nearly in all spheres of American life, with the sole exception of propaganda i.e. press, radio, television, Hollywood, though even there some progress is to be noticed. In such fields as Church, Universities, and Politics the process of advancement is remarkable. Americans of Central and Eastern European descent have proved to be a first class reliable element as soldiers and citizens of the United States during the two World Wars and the present most dangerous ideological struggle with Communism.

There are about six million Americans of Polish descent in the United States. They consist approximately one half of the estimated total of the Central and Eastern European group. Slovaks and Ukrainians compete for second place, having about one million each, in the United States and Canada, Lithuanians and Hungarians seem to be next in line. It may be taken for granted that all of our national groups have at least a hundred thousand American brothers in this country. It is, and it should be a tremendous asset in our struggle for liberation. To take my own Polish group for example it is encouraging to know that there are already ten Congressmen of Polish descent (seven Democrats, three Republicans). Tadeusz Machrowicz Democrat of Michigan, speaking at the Pulaski rally in Detroit declared a few weeks ago that "all congressmen of Polish descent, regardless of party affiliations, are united in so far as the cause of Free Poland is concerned." According to him, as reported by the Polish American Journal No. 47--Vol. XI of November 24th, 19[illegible]1--"the Polish American solons are working together to invalidate the Teheran and Yalta agreements and to persuade the United States Government to go on record favoring the present western boundaries of Poland." Of other groups Slovenians have one Congressman of their descent--young and prominent Mr. Blatnik from the fourth District of Minnesota. Our Czech friends can claim an old experienced member of the Foreign Affairs Committee Mr. Sabbath--Democrat from Illinois, born in Prague, and another Congressman Mr. Stefan died recently. Up to now there never was any U.S. Senator who could claim Central or Eastern European ancestry, although Senator Langer was born of Czechoslovak German parents. Former Governor Stassen claims Czech ancestry and Governor Lausche Slovenian ancestry. There are several Congressmen of Jewish extraction who were either born in our part of the world or are of the Eastern European parentage. Some of them may be also considered as potential friends of our cause.

A typical organisation in which we should be interested in our work is that of Polish American Congress, established early in 1944 with the main purpose to help Poland in regaining her liberty and at the same time to serve in the best way the long range interests of the United States by pointing out the dangers of Communism and Russian imperialism. By taking such a determined stand at the time when the close friendship with the so-called great Eastern Ally was preached in Washington, they have rendered a valuable service to this country. Polish American Congress is a sort of federation of all types of Polish American organisations, most of them being of course insurance companies with Polish National Alliance. ([illegible] members and 75 million of capital) as the most powerful. Others are cultural, educational, or church and veteran groups. They joined together in a struggle for Justice for Poland. Polish-American Congress has the cooperation of about 50 Polish-American newspapers in this country.

Studying the problem I found that there exist parallel organisations of other national groups. Their structural basis are also very similar. I became better acquainted with the American Hungarian Federation. Though organised as long ago as 1906 at Cleveland Convention, it now has among its principal aims and purposes: "To support--within the Constitution and laws of the United States--with all its influence movements aiming to bring about independence for Hungary as well as liberty and well being for its people and to do everything possible to protect the human rights and citizenship of the Hungarian displaced persons outside of Hungary." As the Polish organisation is

dominated by the vigorous and colorful personality of Charles Rozmarek from Chicago so is the Hungarian Federation by its energetic Executive Secretary Stephen E. Balogh from Washington, D.C. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is another very active body under the chairmanship of young economist Dr. Lev Dobriansky from Georgetown University.

The above mentioned three organizations together with the Byelorussian - American Association, American Carpatho-Russ Congress, United American Croatians, and the Slovak League of America are sponsoring a Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent, with the Headquarters at 1624 Eye Street, N.W., Washington D.C., which is at the same time the H.Q. of the American-Hungarian Federation. It is a young organization in its initial period of ambitious activities. Its officers elected on April 1951 at the Hudson Hotel - New York Conference are Stephen M. Tkatch (Carpatho-Ruthenian)--President, Dr. Lev Dobriansky (of Ukrainian descent)--Vice President, Charles Rozmarek (of Polish descent)--Treasurer. Members of the Board of Directors: Stephen E. Balogh (of Hungarian descent), John Michayonack, Philip Hrobak--Recording Secretary, Mr. Lgsins (of Latvian descent), Rev. Silvije Grubisic (of Croatian descent) and Stephen J. Skubik (of Ukrainian descent)--Bureau Manager. Joseph A. Jackovics (of Slovak descent) was Federation's Secretary General but accused by other officers for his tendency to turn the Federation into a mere tool of Republican Party machine he was forced to resign. It is not to be overlooked that the Federation is at the moment under strong Ukrainian influence. The officers of the Board of Directors complain that Mr. Rozmarek never attended a meeting of theirs and that Mr. Charles Burke from the Washington Office of the Polish American Congress deputises only in the character of an observer. This absence de facto of the Polish-American Congress apparently hampers to a large extent the Federation's activities. (The reason for this absence will be explained orally).

According to an official Statement of Aims and Principles of Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent adopted at the Board of Directors Meeting held in Washington on August 17, 1951 there are as follows:

1. To exert every effort to defend the Constitution of our American way of life. To engage and exercise every measure of effort and resource toward the decisive defeat of Russian communist imperialism which in its venomous essence poses a mortal threat to the moral and intellectual Christian foundations of western civilisation in which is posited our priceless American way of life.

2. To coordinate and implement the common and mutual activities of the numerous member organizations represented herein within the scope of a unified political action oriented toward the systematic realization of this basic objective and the simultaneous world-wide extension of the spiritual and hence, any continuation of the serving of complaints will be simply a gesture of dematerial blessings engendered in our Bill of Rights, the formula of self-determined freedom and the Atlantic Charter.

3. To serve and assist through such unified political action the appropriate agencies of our Government and various collaborating American anti-Communist organizations in the dissemination of authentic information on Soviet Russian tyranny and atrocity behind the iron curtains of Central Europe and Asia, in the promulgation of necessary steps aimed at the formation of a global network of anti-Communist alliances, notably within the Soviet empire, in the formulation of political objectives adapted to the historic requirements and aspirations of the peoples available as our natural allies, and in the persistent counteraction of sinister Communist and other anti-democratic influence and groups in our domestic environment.

4. To promote the security and welfare of the United States by insisting upon policies which are shaped in terms of a scrupulous and forthright observance of the sacred principles embodied in the aforementioned monuments to the liberal human spirit and which will insure lasting peace to all the nations of the world, including those of Central and Eastern Europe, numbering approximately 150,000,000 people.

5. To urge our Government to seek the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to the nations which have been forcibly deprived of them and to secure the exercise of the fundamental right of self-determination for those nations which have not in the past been accorded this right, particularly in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

6. To impel, on the happy occasion of the liberation of all peoples from the yoke of Soviet Russian imperialism, governmental action to fulfill the guaranty of free and unfettered elections in these countries under the supervision of the United Nations and with strict regard for conditions of population distribution existing prior to the institution of the Russification policy bent on the extinction of the national identities of the respective enslaved countries.

7. Recognizing the twofold need, viz: ridding all countries involved of implanted Soviet influence, together with ultimate solution of territorial boundary disputes, it is urged that strict priority of action be extended to the former consideration.

8. To abet forcefully the realization of the preceding objectives and concomitantly contribute to the prevention of a generally disastrous world war III through the vigorous advancement of psychological warfare, with particular emphasis on substantial improvements in the status and function of the Voice of America, resounding proclamation of American friendship and support of the liberating movements simmering throughout the wide peripheral European and Asiatic area of non-Russian peoples imperialistically subjugated in the Soviet empire, and demands for true representation of these enslaved peoples in the councils of the United Nations.

9. To secure maximum and unstinting aid on the part of our Government for the manifold operations and the potentially unlimited expansion of the underground movements behind the iron curtains of Europe and Asia.

Though many of the proclaimed aims seem to be identical with

those of ours there are also at the moment several serious obstacles for our close cooperation between our [illegible] and the Federation. Our two bodies consist of different national groups. Some of the nationalities present in [illegible] have not their counterparts in the Federation as is the case of Czechs, Estonians, Roumanians and Serbs. The efforts are made to bring these national groups within the scheme of the Federation. On the other side Ukrainians, Carpatho-Ruthenians, Byelorussians, and Slovak autonomists are not represented in our Committee. It should be stressed also that some of the corresponding new emigration groups, of the last mentioned nationalities are being considered by our friends from [illegible] as uncooperative due to their separatistic tendencies. I realise that the thorny problem of the independence of the some of the mentioned nationalities could hardly be at the present moment introduced in [illegible]. I would be inclined to suggest that as many of our immediate aims are similar to those of the Federation, regardless of some substantial differences we should take advantage of such a large body of organised American friends eagerly interested in the liberation of our respective countries within the whole area of Central-Eastern Europe. The same would apply of course to all component national organizations of the Federation such as for instance Polish American Congress which is not yet closely linked with the Federation. I would suggest that as all our groups have already established their liaison officers to appoint a liaison to The Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent in order to be informed about their activities and to represent there our point of view. Such a cooperation may be of a great importance in many fields. I am sure that all these American organisations would be willing to help us in rising before the free world the problems of Deportations and forced labour in our part of the world, as our Polish American Congress was very helpful in bringing the Katyn Forest massacre into the light of the free opinion. Let us use our American brothers not only in such otherwise vital services as sending millions of food and clothing parcels behind the Iron Curtain or signing tens of thousands of affidavits and job assurances for Displaced Persons. Let us cooperate with them as close as possible in the most important political problems of our struggle for freedom.

The principal political issue facing us in that respect is that of pressing for a "Liberation Policy" of the United States and other Western Powers. With the approach of November 1952 elections it is becoming obvious to all of us that it will be of extreme importance for the cause of our Area who will be elected as the new legislators of the United States. As Aliens we are not allowed to interfere into American domestic politics, as representatives of our countries we are deeply interested in whose hands the fate and the future of the world events is going to lie in the years to come. It is now a commonplace to state that Soviet Russia and the United States will decide the fundamental, universal issues in which our countries are so much concerned--liberty or slavery. We believe deeply that this should be a matter of common interest to us and to the citizens of the United States. It would be more than just a shortsightedness not to realize that in this decisive struggle for the very existence of our nations we are lucky to possess here powerful and understanding Allies in at least 12 million American voters of Central-Eastern European descent. They are equally eager as ourselves in bringing

freedom back to our part of the world. As good American citizens, tax-payers, soldiers and workers they are fully entitled to sustain us in our efforts to liberate our countries. Regardless of party affiliations we should support our faithful friends and to match our enemies. Such a policy was applied mutatis mutandis by American Labour Unions in the case of the Taft Hartley Act, when all candidates for the seat in the House of Representatives or Senate and state Governorships, regardless of their party competency, have been asked for their stand in that matter and their record of voting was checked from that point of view. Such is the basic technique of the pressure policy in this country. Applied to foreign affairs it won't be either a new thing in the United States. It is a well known fact that the organised Jews of New York and other big American cities have mostly contributed to the miraculous re-emergence of the free state of Israel. Irish-Americans sustain vigorously the national claim for a United Ireland. The three "hyphenate" groups of American-Germans, Irish and Italians are mainly responsible for the eventful abolition of Wilsonian League of Nations policy. But, in our case,--we do not want to destroy anything; our aim is constructive. We need our American friends and relatives to co-operate with us for a positive purpose of Liberation. This may be in the United States the most powerful way of changing the catastrophic trend of American policy in respect of Eastern European problems. I see no reason why millions of Americans of Central Eastern European descent should not demand openly from their future legislators what stand have they taken in regard of liberation of our countries; (Are you for, are you against, or are you just neutral?)--what have they done to materialise such a liberation in their past activities, what and in which way do they intend to do in future? Such a questionnaire may be very useful in reviving our issue before American political circles and the wide public opinion. To some of us it may seem too bold an initiative. However if we really are of the opinion that without the speedy liberation of Central-Eastern Europe--this magnificent country of the United States cannot survive either as a happy and free land then by the raising of the Liberation cause we are in this respect not only fulfilling our duties towards our respective countriesbut also a worthy service for the free people of America.

14-00000

20 March 1952 W

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Southeastern Europe Division
Chief, Eastern Europe Division

SUBJECT: Future of Strasbourg Free Europe University Students

1. Attached hereto is a copy of a letter I am forwarding to Mr. Tyson on this subject.

2. Chief EE is on record as having advised the former case officer of TFT/NIC that EE should be afforded an opportunity for evaluation and covert screening of students of EE origin for future potential operational use, on the understanding that no student would be approached for this program during his scheduled term at the University. SE probably has a similar interest in this matter.

3. This memorandum is to ask that you keep us informed on a continuing basis of your views on this subject, and also to let you know that you can expect from us the information which shall come to us in reply to the attachment.

4. Any comments which you now have on this subject and would give to me either informally or by memorandum, by 15 April, would be appreciated.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment

CIO/TWB:blj
Distribution:
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In reply refer to: W-1927

20 March 1952

Dear Levering:

I have read with much interest the account you recently sent to Mr. Haswood on the University in Strasbourg.

I have also noted that in a recent Fund Memorandum (No. 385), the question was raised as to what should be done with the Strasbourg students after they have completed their studies, should an opportunity present itself for their return to "liberated" countries of their origin.

In any case, this question will be of continuing concern to both your organization and ours, and I hope that we may be mutually helpful in planning how we can make use of these students after the completion of their studies in Strasbourg. Towards this effort we should appreciate receiving from you a list of the present student body at Strasbourg together with biographical data and expected completion of study dates for each. We should also like to have a statement as to the type of contract entered into with the students and as to any obligation imposed upon those who enroll. I should like to discuss this question with you from time to time and particularly after receiving the information herein requested.

My continued best wishes

Sincerely,

Oliver Hadwood

CIO/N V:blj
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14-00000

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

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REMARKS: Are any of the officers of this organization on our cleared consultants list? I believe you understand the situation, which is that it may be a good ~~thing to~~ try a direct approach to this group on behalf of NCFE.

Mr. Bro Lang

No, Sir. Nancy

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM NO. 30-4
SEP 1947

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[illegible]MATION

19 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Crusade for Freedom and National Information Bureau

1. On January 10th I called your attention to the fact that the National Information Bureau, a reputable investigation agency which conducts inquiries into charitable organizations and advises large donors, had given an adverse recommendation on the Crusade for Freedom (see Attachment 1). This matter has now risen again. It may be that it would be wise to undertake a high-level approach to the Bureau through yourself or General Smith, for the following reasons:

According to an agreement with us and with the State Department at our recent meetings, Crusade for Freedom will bank heavily this year on donations from corporations. They have now discovered that these corporations rely to a great extent on the National Information Bureau's advice. Several corporations have indicated that, according to their practice, they cannot give to the Crusade unless it has the blessing of the Bureau, and you will note in Attachment 2 that one such corporation -- Barnes Manufacturing Company of Mansfield, Ohio -- has written to the Crusade citing its doubt.

2. Meantime, members of the Crusade have had conversations with D. Paul Reed, Executive Director of the National Information Bureau (see Attachment 3) and he has insisted that he cannot report that the Crusade has met the basic standards in philanthropy until his Standards 7 and 8 are met. These are the publication of an annual audit and of a detailed annual budget, the prime requirement being the disclosure of totals.

3. You may want to read this Attachment 3 with care but I cannot myself see any manner in which we can meet these standards. Therefore, I believe that it may be necessary to make the approach to the National Information Bureau described above.

4. The officers of the National Information Bureau are as follows:

Board of Directors

Allen Wardwell, Honorary Chairman
Paul L. Feiss, Honorary President
Valentine E. Macy, Jr., President
Ralph H. Blanchard, Vice-President
Randall J. LeBoeuf, Jr., Vice-President
Craig R. Smith, Secretary
Ellis Russell, Treasurer

Edward K. Bachman	Mrs. John B. Henneman
James G. Blaine	Edward J. Keyes
Mrs. Sidney C. Borg	Hugh Knowlton
Allen T. Burns	Alexander Lindey
Harry M. Carey	Arch Mandel
Homer Folks	Miss Adele W. Morrison
Maxwell Hahn	John B. Niven

John M. Shaw

D. Paul Reed, Executive Director
B. D. Burhoe, Research & Advisory
Mrs. E. R. Goodwin, Research & Advisory

Do you know any of them?

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB:eh

Orig - Addressee (thru ADPC & DD/P)
1 cc - CIC
2 cc - RI

3 Attachments
1- NIB recommendation on Crusade.
2- Ltr from Barnes Mfg. Company.
3- NCFE memo on NIB.

14-00000

SECRET

2-4902

10 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: National Information Bureau, Inc.

1. Attached are two surveys from the National Information Bureau, Inc. The National Information Bureau is a reputable investigation agency conducting inquiries into American organizations which request funds from the public. It advises donors on whether the organizations are worthy of support.

2. The attachments contain the results of an investigation into the Crusade for Freedom and the American Committee for a United Europe. Note that the Bureau's recommendation in respect to the Crusade is adverse. The American Committee for a United Europe on the other hand gets the Bureau's blessing.

Thomas Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Branch

SECRET

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, Inc.

IMPORTANT

This report is a privileged communication and is strictly for the confidential information of the person or organization to whom it is addressed.

April 27, 1951

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE, INC.
537 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE: American Committee on United Europe, Inc. was incorporated in New York, February 16, 1949. Stated purpose of the Committee is two-fold:

In Europe to "1. encourage the idea of unity and lend assurance that a unified Europe will have the support and friendship of the people of the United States; 2. give desperately needed financial support to groups - such as the European Movement - working in Europe on behalf of unity."

In America to "1. give Americans a better understanding of the steps toward unity which Europe has already undertaken; 2. encourage civic, educational and other groups to study their implications and the means by which American policy can further the work; and finally, 3. as specific issues arise, the Committee will point out what we Americans can do, as individuals and as a nation, to help Europe unite and thus to help themselves."

By way of background information, the Committee stated in its early days:

"Despite Europe's recuperation from the visible effects of wartime devastation, antiquated national barriers to unity and progress still invite disaster for all countries. A continent divided into seventeen separate, conflicting political and economic pockets presents a weak and vulnerable flank, perilous to world peace and security.

"Four decades of bloodshed and economic deterioration have taught the peoples of Europe that survival is impossible without unity. As never before, they have banded together - statesmen, trade unionists, business leaders, churchmen and educators in a dozen nations - in the movement for European unity. Although determined to accomplish Union, they face many obstacles.

"Convinced of our stake in the success of their work, the American Committee on United Europe believes that American support and encouragement can be decisively helpful to the realization of this objective. Leaders in Europe have confirmed this belief, and insist that the time for maximum effort is at hand."

PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES: The American Committee on United Europe describes itself as "in thorough agreement with Winston Churchill's assertion that 'We must spread the knowledge that this thing is really possible...We must create a climate of opinion.'" It will also "seek to avoid pleading for any single preconceived scheme or precise pattern for European Union, conscious that the nature of Union must evolve from the needs and aspirations of the peoples who will unite."

14-00000

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, Inc.

IMPORTANT

This report is a privileged communication and is strictly for the confidential information of the person or organization to whom it is addressed.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE, INC. April 27, 1951

Grants have been made to private groups in Europe working for European union. Groups have been selected which have, in the opinion of the American Committee on United Europe, concrete programs for (1) strengthening the Council of Europe as a political authority; (2) supporting basic aims of the Marshall Plan and the Military Aid Program within the Atlantic Pact; (3) inclusion of Western Germany in a unified Europe.

The major group receiving Committee support is The European Movement, an overall organization composed of six organizations of private citizens in Europe, which claims to have helped influence the governments of Western Europe to establish the Council of Europe in 1949. European Movement has initiated conferences and research on economic, cultural and legal questions bearing on union.

In the United States the Committee has published statements on European union by European leaders, a Newsletter with a circulation of some 2,500 copies, summaries of proceedings at meetings of various European groups, and public opinion polls.

The Committee also sponsored lecture tours by Paul Reynaud, Lord Layton, Sir Harold Butler and Paul-Henri Spaak and single lectures by Winston Churchill, Robert Schuman and Paul Van Zeeland.

The Current program is as follows:

Continued fund-raising for support of European groups, particularly the European Movement as a center of work in Europe for a Union.

Publication and distribution of addresses, studies and reports, and sponsorship of meetings at which European statesmen may give Americans a first hand account of the work abroad.

PERSONNEL: The officers and Board of Directors include the following: Chairman, *William J. Donovan; Vice Chairman, *Allen W. Dulles; Secretary, *George S. Franklin, Jr.; Treasurer, Emmett F. Connely; Executive Director, William P. Durkee;

Raymond B. Allen
Charles S. Cheston
Lucius D. Clay
E. F. Connely
E. P. ~~Connely~~
*David Dubinsky
*Arthur J. Goldberg
A. Crawford Greene
*Charles R. Hook
David E. Lilienthal
Herbert S. Little
Robert F. Maguire
*Walter N. Maguire
Stacy May
*George Nebolsine
Carl T. Nixon
*Frederick Osborn
Kurt F. Pantzer
*Robert P. Patterson
Walter Bedell Smith
*Arnold J. Zurcher

* Members of Executive Committee

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, Inc.

IMPORTANT

This report is a privileged communication and is strictly for the confidential information of the person or organization to whom it is addressed.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE, INC. April 27, 1951

FINANCES: A financial audit for the nearly twenty-one month period from inception, February 16, 1949, to October 31, 1950 shows: cash contribution income, $210,919; disbursements, $193,072. Disbursements include: grants to European groups, $96,651; European conferences, $11,963; Popular education, $19,674; fund-raising expenses, $26,201; and administrative expenses, $38,583. Cash balance, October 31, 1950, was $17,846.

Contributions to the American Committee are reported to be exempt for income tax purposes.

Budget for the year to October 31, 1951 totals $150,000, of which $100,000 is for European operations.

COMMENT AND CONCLUSION: It is difficult to measure the influence of organizations undertaking to influence the mass public; however, we can report that the Bureau knows of no reason why those interested should not contribute to this Committee.

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, INC.

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

LETTER OF CONFIRMATION

In reply refer to: W-1923

13 March 1952

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your report of 5 March 1952 on Horvat. Attached hereto are copies of the original correspondence.

We should appreciate your making a direct acknowledgment to Horvat on behalf of Mr. Dewey as requested in his 20 February letter. We have acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Dewey's letter and have indicated to him that we were referring the matter to appropriate hands.

We should appreciate receiving a copy of the reply which you send to Horvat.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver Hadwood

Attachment
Attachment was handed to John on 12 March 1952.

CIO/[illegible] memo from ADPC to DD/P of 13 March 1952)
Distribution:
Orig - Addressee
1 - PY/Ex Asst
1 - CIO✓
2 - RI

March 5, 1952

HORVAT, Pavle

Pavle Horvat is of Slovenian origin, about 50 years old and was born in the Prlekija district near the Hungarian border (formerly a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy).

Horvat became known during the thirties through his numerous manifestos and posters by which he attempted to organize his own political movement. This "movement" was labeled various names at different times. At one time it was simply referred to as a "peasant movement," at another time as the "Slovenia Section of the Croatian Peasant Party," and still later as an "independent Slovenian peasant movement." He never had, however, any following and never set up his own electoral lists. On the other hand, it is true, that the Croat Peasant Party of Dr. Macek considered him as one of its trustees in Slovenia for a short period.

He earned his living as a farmer. He also had a small village grocery shop and occupied himself in his district with "interventions," that is, performing all types of secretarial services for the peasants of the area. Among other things, he undertook to organize the transportation of the seasonal workers who went to France and Germany during the harvesting months. He had difficulties with the home authorities and police in this respect and had to appear before the courts on a number of occasions.

At the beginning of the war he fled to Zagreb, Croatia, at that time the Independent Croat State (Nazi puppet regime) of Dr. Pavelic. There he set up a small office for the relief of Slovenian refugees but it never reached any large proportions. He was not connected with the Refugee Committee which handled the main relief work (One source pointed out that the mere fact that he was able to establish an office and function in Zagreb during the period meant that he was at least passively acceptable to the Nazi regime.

As far back as 1935 he is known to have misrepresented himself as a "peasant leader."

After the war Pavle Horvat fled to Austria where he again claimed to be a Slovenian peasant leader and attempted to whip up propaganda for the creation of a special "peasant group," among the Slovenian refugees; he failed completely. He was unable to find followers in a single camp to form such a group, and the refugees refused to attend his meetings. In addition he is known to have boasted that he was acting on behalf of Mr. Macek and the International Peasant Union, though he was mandated by neither. The Allied authorities were finally forced to intervene and bring a stop to his activities since they were causing discontent among the refugees and disorders in the DP camps.

In July 1949, Horvat wrote the Honorable Joseph C. Grew in care of the National Committee for a Free Europe introducing himself as the Representative of the Democratic Slovenes and President of the International Peasant Union for Europe, and suggesting that he join forces with the Committee in the common struggle against Communism. In return for a trip to the United States he offered to bring a large confidential report on his activities to date and present a scheme for successfully suppressing communism and delivering the subjugated nations in the shortest possible time. He was informed that the Fund was confining its activities to refugee leaders already residing in the United States and that the proposed visit was impossible at that time.

Horvat has recently announced his forthcoming arrival in the United States. Several Slovenian and Croatian newspapers in this country have received articles (which he wrote himself) glorifying his past and present activities. None of them, so far, have taken any notice of these articles with the exception of the Croat separatist (pro-ustashi) paper, "DANICA," published in Chicago. Supposedly Dr. Macek was highly amused on reading the article describing the great "Slovene peasant leader."

Nobody in Slovenia in pre-war days would have considered Pavel Horvat as a person to be taken seriously in public life. He is considered by a number of sources a political impostor and as personally unethical. Neither the International Peasant Union for Europe, of which he claimed to be president, nor the Democratic Slovenes, of which he is a representative, is considered a legitimate organization. The Director of the Fund's Yugoslavian Research and Information Desk was the editor of a daily paper in Slovenian for eleven years before the war. He never met Horvath, seldom heard of him and his paper, as far as he knew, never took notice of him or his activities.

FOR THE RECORD: This report (on Pavle Horvat dated 5 March 1952) was forwarded to us by Mr. John Leich, assistant to Mr. Dolbeare, Director of the National Councils Division of NCFE.

NBV

SECRET
Security Information

ER-2-(803

MEMORANDUM FOR: DCPP/PY/OPC

VIA: CPY/OPC

FROM: Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT: Attacks on the Soviet Myth of "Prior Inventions"

1. I understand that your office has already addressed itself to the opportunity which was offered by the increasing absurdities of Russian claims to have been the inventors of a list of discoveries, explorations, and inventions which by now comprise the bulk of such discoveries and inventions important to modern life. This is, of course, an extremely vulnerable series of claims and one which exposes itself to ridicule so readily as to render it an excellent target for attack. There has been some play on this seen in the American press but I feel that it would be more effective if the European press and Radio Free Europe should handle the job.

2. In the Sunday edition of the Washington Post, there was a very good summary of the Russian "firsts." The article was written in just the right vein, although a more dead pan approach would perhaps be more effective in certain places. If you do not have this article, I suggest that you get someone to clip it for you--as well as I recall, it is to be found in the magazine section or the editorial (news review) part of the paper. I heard one on the radio this morning which would fit in nicely with this general line. I do not know the author of the crack, but it is certainly a "first" that the Russians should surely be given all the credit for. The crack was that "the Kremlin was the first to put peace on a war basis."

(signed) FRANK G. WISNER

FRANK G. WISNER

cc: AD/PC
Chief, SR
CIC/OPC ✓

SECRET
Security Information

14-00000

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

In reply refer
to: ~~W-1592~~ W-1904

~~12~~ 28 March 1952

Dear Tom:

With reference to the Stephen Mainczyk case which Sam discussed with you during your recent visit, several questions have arisen concerning the broader aspects of the type of activity Mainczyk was undertaking in addition to his RFE duties.

Specifically, we would like to know what sort of employment contract RFE employees enter into with RFE. If possible, we would like a copy of a typical contract. We are interested in knowing what restrictions, if any, are placed on employees' outside interests or activities while employed with RFE, particularly as they would apply to a case such as Mainczyk's. We would also like to have information on the type of security agreement presently in use between RFE and its employees.

There are attached several papers bearing on the Mainczyk case, forwarded with a report on the matter, which was prepared for our friends across the street. This report was to the general effect that the American manager of the Salzburg office of Radio Free Europe has been deeply concerned over events arising from Mainczyk's recent death. While looking through the personal effects of the deceased, he found evidence that Mainczyk had accepted money for the purpose of assisting individuals to escape from behind the Iron Curtain to the U.S. Zone of Austria. The RFE manager was further disturbed to find that the entrusted funds were not listed among the assets of the deceased or deposited with the American Express Company at Salzburg.

Sincerely,

+ [illegible]

Three enclosures

CIO/NEV:blj
Distribution:
2 - RI
Orig - Addressee
1 - PY/Px Asst
1 - CIO

14-00000

SECRET

COPY

January 21, 1952

American Consulate
Munich
Germany

Gentlemen:

The undersigned, Dr. Bela Gyorky of 21 East 92nd Street, New York City and Mr. Alexander A. Back of the above address wish to request your assistance in connection with consequences resulting from the sudden death of Mr. Steven W. Maincsyk of Radio Free Europe in Salzburg, Austria.

The said gentleman was holding our money as a trustee, which money was sent to him to be paid out under certain conditions; we were trying to save our family from behind the Iron Curtain and we were negotiating with different people who were willing to undertake this task and we needed someone who would pay these persons the agreed amount in question when the operation was properly concluded. Through the said gentleman's secretary we received word that Mr. Maincsyk was seriously ill for the past few months and suddenly passed away, and to make certain that our interests are properly protected we are taking the liberty of writing you this letter in connection with the above matter.

The total amount sent to AMEXCO, Salsburg was $3,800. - out of which Mr. Maincsyk paid altogether $300. - thus leaving $3,500. - in Mr. Maincsyk's name. Of course, if it is necessary we would both be glad to furnish additional proof to support this present letter and we would greatly appreciate your kind assistance. We would also thank you to advise us as to what additional steps you deem it necessary for us to take in this matter.

We thank you in advance for your kind assistance and courtesy and remain

Very truly yours,

Alexander A. Back

Dr. Bela Gyorky

AAB/mak

Secret

SECRET

COPY

BACK EXPORT & IMPORT CO.
215 Fourth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y., U.S.A.

Member of Commerce & Industry
Association of New York

Cable Address
"Backexport"
Telephone
ORchard 4-5507

January 22, 1952

American Consulate
Salzburg
Austria

Gentlemen:

We just received the following cable from Dr. Emi Ehm, secretary of the deceased Mr. Steven Mainzcyk:-

"MAINCZYK DIED INTESTATE EFFECTS IN CUSTODY OF AMERICAN CONSULATE SALZBURG SUGGEST CONTACT THEM LETTER FOLLOWING. DR. EMI EHM"

It so happens that yesterday we erroneously wrote to the American Consulate in Munich, Germany and we are enclosing herewith a copy of the said letter from which you will see all particulars of our problem.

Your prompt attention and kind assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Alexander A Back

Dr. Bela Gyorky

AAB/sak

14-00000

American Consulate,
Salzburg, Austria
February 7, 1952

Mr. Alexander A. Back,
Mr. Bela Gyorky,
Back Export & Import Company,
215 Fourth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

Sirs:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of January 22, 1952 together with a copy of the letter addressed to the American Consulate General in Munich regarding certain private transactions you appear to have had with the late Mr. Stephen Maincsyk, an American citizen who died in Salzburg on January 1, 1952.

In accordance with its standing instructions and pending the decision of the appropriate local authorities, the Consulate is acting as provisional conservator of the effects of the deceased. It would appear that Mr. Maincsyk died intestate and the Consulate has been endeavoring to obtain instructions from the deceased's brother, Mr. Charles Maincsyk, 4119 [illegible] Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, the nearest known kin for advice concerning his interest in the estate.

Under these circumstances you will recognize that the Consulate has no authority to take cognizance of any claim you may have against the estate excepting to bear in mind your interest and to refer you to the Court that will have jurisdiction over the matter when the estate will have left our hands.

At such time as an executor is appointed, you will be informed and requested to address yourself to that party.

Sincerely yours,

Robert G. McGregor
American Consul

2 U

RGMcGregor:gw

14-00000

John Shield
To Dick Umsza [?] } 6 Mar 52

1. I have discussed this with Myers who asks that he receive the full report.

Therefore suggest that you prepare: 1) a sterile letter to be sent to Tom Myers giving all essential facts and a copy of the unclassified letter. On this basis, he will cable Munich and info us of results for our transmittal to State.

2. Think interim reply to State should say: the matter is being investigated at source in connection settlement Mairucyk estate via RFE.

NBH

What sort of employment ~~contract~~ RFE employees enter into with RFE — specifically any restrictions on their outside interests while employed with RFE. Also particularly this in regard to M., if his case here is particular

Type of security agreement which RFE employees sign.

Letter to [illegible]

W-1792

Dear Tom: Sam

With reference to the Stephen Mainczyk case which I discussed with you during your recent visit, several questions have arisen concerning the broader aspects of the type of activity Mainczyk was undertaking ~~on his own~~ in addition to his RFE duties.

Specifically, we would like to know what sort of employment contract RFE employees enter into with RFE. If possible, we would like a copy of a typical contract. We are interested in knowing what restrictions, if any, are placed on employees' outside interests or activities while employed with RFE, particularly as they would apply to a case such as Mainczyk's. We would also like to have information on the type of security agreement presently in use between RFE and its employees.

There are attached several papers bearing on the Mainczyk case, ~~which might be of interest to you. They were~~ which were forwarded with a report on the matter which was prepared for our friends across the street. ~~[illegible]~~ This report was to the general effect that the American manager of the Salzburg office of Radio Free Europe has been deeply concerned ~~[illegible]~~ over events arising from Mainczyk's ~~the~~ recent death ~~of Stephen Mainczyk~~. While looking through the personal effects of the deceased, he found evidence that Mainczyk [illegible] for the purpose of assisting individuals to escape from behind the Iron Curtain to the U.S. Zone of Austria. The RFE manager was further disturbed to find that the entrusted funds were not listed among the assets of the deceased or on deposit with the American Express Company at Salzburg.

Sincerely

3 enclosures

Oliver Hadwood

11 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Photostats in re International Center of Free Trade Unionists in Exile, Paris

The attached photostats were made from accounting documents, while they were in transit through us from a TONIC representative, Paris, to TONIC headquarters. They are forwarded, as indicated below, to provide information as to individuals associated with the subject organization.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment (6 pages)

CIO/MUV:blj

Distribution:
Orig - WE (FI-Mr. Minott; WE/3-Mr. Freeman) (with attachments)
1 - FE (Mr. Overton); SE (Mr. Krane) (with attachments)
1 - IO (Mr. Wiesner; Miss Stern) (with attachments)
1 - Project [illegible] file (with attachments)
2 - RI (with attachments)
1 - C/IO (without attachments)

① NCFE

SEC[illegible]

No.	NAME	HOURS	SALARY PER HOUR	TOTAL	SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	Schurr, Jeronimo	10	100	1,000	[illegible]
7	Jacob Nicolas	[illegible]	200	[illegible]	Jacob Nicolas
	Total:	297		[illegible]	

SECRET

[illegible]

[illegible]	HOURS	PER HOUR	TOTAL	SIGNATURE
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] 1/2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	54	120	6.400	Paul Andrei
[illegible]	20	300	3.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	70	200	14.000	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]		[illegible]	

(3)

NO.	NAME	HOURS	PER HOUR	TOTAL	SIGNATURE OF RECEIVER
1	[illegible]	12	60	[illegible].00	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]	60	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	50	[illegible]50	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	[illegible]220	[illegible]
7	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	10,200	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	6	130	[illegible]	[illegible]
9	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	[illegible]	[illegible]
10	Paul Andre[illegible]	7	130	[illegible]	[illegible]
11	[illegible]	10	300	3,000	[illegible]
12	Jacob [illegible]	[illegible]	200	[illegible],000	[illegible]
	Total	[illegible]		[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible] (CONSTRUCTION OF [illegible] OFFICES) [illegible]

NO.	NAME	HOURS	PER HOUR	TOTAL	SIGNATURA OF RECEIPT
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	60	400	Komati Silvai
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	50	7,650	Bueno N.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	120	1,050	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	36	150	1,400	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	170	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	120	1,160	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	150	7,800	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	1,960	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	150	350	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	120	90	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	110	1,142	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	130	1,910	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	10	200	1,000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	200	22,800	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]		760	

[illegible]

[illegible] 1951 [illegible]

Nr.	NAME	FUNCTION	AMOUNT FRENCH FRANCS	SIGNATURE OF RECEIVER
1	[illegible]odski	Gen. Secretary	40.000	[signature]
2	Velman Sasha?	Assist. Secretary	40.000	[signature]
3	Oberman? T.	Treasurer	40.000	[signature]
4	[illegible]popov? [illegible]	[illegible] Chief of Bulgarian Prog. Europe	40.000	[signature]
5	Florosik? I.	Polish corresp.	40.000	[signature]
6	[illegible]runca? V.	Rumanian corresp.	40.000	[signature]
7	[illegible] A.	Hungarian corresp.	40.000	[signature]
8	[illegible]olaroff	Bulgarian corresp.	40.000	[signature]
9	Riber Bosco	Yugoslav corresp.	40.000	[signature]
10	Mikkelson	Estonian corresp.	40000	[signature]
11	Vivien Newman	English translator	40.000	[signature]
12	[illegible] Anna?	Typist	40.000	[signature]
13	Kopalovich? F.	[illegible]	40.000	[signature]
14	[illegible]	Editor	40.000	[signature]
15	Talko L.	Polish corresp.	40.000	[signature]
16	[illegible]	Hungarian corresp.	40.000	[signature]
17	[illegible]	Bulgarian corresp.	30.000	[signature]
18	[illegible] O.	Rumanian corresp.	30.000	[signature]
19	[illegible]	Yugoslav corresp.	30.000	[signature]
20	[illegible] B.	Estonian corresp.	30.000	[signature]
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[signature]
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[signature]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[signature]
		TOTAL	[illegible]	

[illegible] 1956

[illegible]

NAME	FUNCTION	AMOUNT FRENCH FRANCS	SIGNATURE [illegible]
[illegible] Brodsky	Gen. Secretary	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Assist. Secretary	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Treasurer	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Chess Kit, Radio [illegible] Free Europe	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Polish corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Rumanian corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Bulgarian corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Hungarian corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Yugoslav corresp.	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	English translator	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Typist	40.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Chess Kit, [illegible]	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Polish corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Bulgarian corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Yugoslav corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] corresp.	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	Typist	25.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	30.000	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		95.000	

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

21 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Admiral H. B. Miller on 21 March.

Admiral Miller called me today and asked me to pass along two warnings:

1. He objects to what he has heard is the "approval" of CIA officials of the plan to put Admiral Kirk's Committee under the Crusade for Freedom. He said he thought the cover of the Crusade was by now almost non-existent and cited a recent meeting of an advertising group of which he is a member where, he said, various members turned to him and asked him to quit kidding. I said to Admiral Miller that I thought that the "approval" to which he referred was a matter of policy as between the State Department and CIA and that I thought it probable that if there had been any such approval the CIA officials who gave it had in mind the necessity of securing his views before putting the plan into effect. He replied that he wanted to be as helpful as possible and that if all Admiral Kirk had to fall back on was the Crusade for Freedom then perhaps he would have to yield, but he said that in any event if Admiral Kirk's Committee were to be added to the Crusade, the Crusade would have to be expanded. He could not possibly attempt to furnish cover under the present agreement with the State Department to cut down the activity of the Crusade.

2. He said that he wanted to issue a warning to all here that heads would shortly roll within NCFE. He said that he had recently had a talk with Fred Dolbeare and gone over Dolbeare's organization and that as a result of this talk his previous conviction as to the necessity for reorganizing was emphasized tenfold. He said he thought there were too many jobs held by people whose qualifications were that they wore the old school tie or that they had relatives who already held jobs, and he said he intended to clean house to such a degree that he might soon be able to rent a floor in the New York building. He said that there may be some resignations as a result and that we should be prepared for them, but he said that he assumed we wanted him to conduct efficient operations and therefore he had a green light to do so until we called him off. I assured him that this was a fact.

[illegible] W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

IO:TWB:ch

Orig - ADPC--DD/P--DDCI
1 cc - IO
2 cc - FI

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

Executive Registry
- 2874

Noted by D/DCI

21 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Committee for Russian Liberation

1. I called Bob Joyce in the State Department yesterday and asked him whether in his view the State Department would object to placing the new Committee for Russian Liberation under the Crusade for Freedom. I mentioned particularly a possible caveat of the State Department -- that we might be expanding the Crusade at the very time we had agreed at a series of meetings held recently that we would cut down its activities.

2. Joyce said that the agreement with State was as to method and scope of Crusade publicity and activity and that the addition of the new Committee under Crusade cover would not by any means abrogate this agreement. He said that we could go ahead and count upon the State Department's approval. I asked him whether he would like a memorandum to this effect or whether he would like to consult others in the State Department and he said no, that this was unnecessary, that we should go ahead.

Tom Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Orig: DD/P (thru ADPC)
1 cc: EE (Mr. Poor)
1 cc: C/IO
2 cc: RI

14-00000

20 March 52

Mr. Braden

Miss Stern today asked Mr. Leich to send a copy of the reply to her and also to give her any background on this he can obtain.

TBV

Mr. Braden:

John said he had an "explanation" of this letter which he will mail today. Also will report after he has had dinner.

UNCLASSIFIED .ESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET
(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

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REMARKS:

with Nagy tonight.
Ellen

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM NO. 30-4
SEP 1947

14-00000

10/52

Mr. Wisner --

an information copy of letter sent by Mr. Jackson today. Mr. Damewood is receiving a copy via regular channels.

M. McCrum

2-6811

March 10, 1952

Dear Monsignor Varga:-

As I wind up my year with the National Committee for a Free Europe, I thought it appropriate to send you a letter -- not a letter of farewell, but rather some thoughts on the Hungarian National Council as I have observed it during the year.

In the first place, I would like to congratulate you and your associates on having done an extraordinary job of holding a very volatile situation together. In fact, it was a unique job, and one whose value we may never fully appreciate because so many of the benefits are intangible.

I hope, therefore, that you will continue to work with undiminished will to hold the Council together, as it would present a very serious problem to Admiral Miller if the Hungarian group were to fall apart.

I would also like to congratulate you on the effective work the representatives of the Hungarian National Council have done abroad, particularly in France and Germany. You know how important I consider this work. It seems to me that the real task and duty of a National Council is to help the exiles, and the front lines of this work are in Europe.

Aside from the obvious necessities of food, clothing, shelter, the most important aspect of the work is what I would call a "consular" service, as these poor people do not know where or how to turn. In this consular-type work, I think that General Hennyey and Mr. Auer have been doing an excellent job, and my personal feelings in this matter are completely confirmed by reactions I have received from the International Refugee Organization and the official foreign and American administrations in these countries.

To my way of thinking, exile political matters in New York and Washington should take a definitely second place to helping human beings in distress, and although there are some who do not agree with this order of priority, I am delighted and grateful that the work of the Hungarian National Council indicates that you share these ideas.

- - -

Since this is an honest letter, and not just pro-forma appreciation by a retiring President, I must also, unfortunately, include some observations that are not so pleasant.

I remember very early in my work with NCFE, that you taught me the political meaning of the word "polarization", and since then I have had ample opportunity in the Hungarian National Council to see polarization at work.

NCFE has grown in the past year into a large organization engaged in serious work, and frequently proving its effectiveness behind the Iron Curtain. To put it another way, during the past year NCFE has evolved from just a hope into a professional weapon in the war against the enemy. Therefore, activities which a year ago were deplorable but pardonable, are today inexcusable and intolerable.

Admiral Miller agrees with me completely on this point, and intends to take such action from time to time as may be necessary to counter such activities when they occur.

However, I recognise that it is not enough for NCFE to take unilateral action. We must be assisted by you and those of your associates who understand who the real enemy is, and are willing to subordinate fratricidal strife, polarising attempts, and disloyal activities.

* * *

I fully realize that these are nothing but big words unless I can illustrate them more specifically.

I have in my possession enough illustrations to fill a volume, but I would like to select three in particular to mention in this letter, not because I have any particular desire to single out the individuals concerned for censure, but rather because what they have done not only illustrates the point I am trying to make, but also reveals an attitude of mind which is practically incomprehensible to an American working for a great cause.

The first case that I have in mind is that of Mr. Ferenc Nagy.

Last February, Mr. Nagy wrote a letter to Mr. Frank S. Land of Kansas City, Missouri, complaining bitterly about the National Committee for a Free Europe, accusing it of "supporting

outmoded and old-fashioned reactionary political ideologies", and asking Mr. Land to advise him as to how this situation could be brought to the attention of President Truman in order to have him do something about it. As a result of that letter, Mr. Land wrote to the White House, and in the normal course this full correspondence came to me.

I asked Mr. Nagy to come to the office, and tried to explain to him that what he had done was not only a bad, but a very silly thing. It was bad in the sense that he had violated our hospitality by secretly attempting to conspire against the organization which was supporting him. It was silly in assuming that he could carry on this kind of intrigue without my knowing about it — in fact, without having the White House check with NCFE, an American organization, as to what action should be taken.

Mr. Nagy seemed to understand what I tried to explain to him, and with what I considered complete honesty and sincerity, expressed his regrets and said that it would not happen again. In return for this frank understanding on his part, we shook hands, and I promised that the correspondence would be put away in our files and never referred to again. And as you know, I have never even mentioned it to you.

Mr. Nagy has once again written to President Truman — this time directly. And once again the White House has sent me the memorandum.

I consider that Mr. Nagy has broken his pledge, and therefore I am free to tell you about the incident.

This time, although the words of Mr. Nagy are more temperate, the melody is the same — dissatisfaction with what NCFE has done; dissatisfaction with the Hungarian National Council. Let me quote a passage:- "The existing National Committees are not in themselves suitable for this task, partly because of the general intra-Committee controversies between Democrats and reactionaries, and partly because these Committees are not considered by the peoples behind the Iron Curtain as international guarantee that promises would be carried out."

I cannot help commenting at this point that in the Hungarian National Council there is probably no one who has

contributed more to "intra-Committee controversies" than Mr. Nagy himself. Furthermore, an analysis of Mr. Nagy's definition of "Democrats and reactionaries" would be extremely interesting. It might have been more accurate had he said "people who supported my Government in 1947 and everybody else".

As to the matter of any exile committee, whether the Hungarian National Council or Mr. Nagy's Central Eastern European Committee, being able to "guarantee" to the people behind the Iron Curtain that promises would be carried out, Mr. Nagy's statement is either frivolous or preposterous.

Mr. Nagy winds up with a request that the President give his blessing to Mr. Nagy's proposed super-committee -- the Central Eastern European Committee -- which represents "a total majority of 70 to 80% of the entire population of Central Eastern Europe."

I am frankly fascinated by the processes of Mr. Nagy's mind. I cannot believe that all he thinks about is the promotion of Leftish Hungarian politicians in exile. I cannot believe that as a human being he does not feel some sense of responsibility toward NCFE and the Hungarian National Council, who have month after month helped him. I do not wish to sound dramatic, I do not ask for thanks, and I am not suggesting that in return for our help we impose an obligation of a quid pro quo. But I do say that the question of loyalty does arise, and the question of responsibility is very real.

Furthermore, Mr. Nagy has been in this country long enough now to understand that this kind of intriguing is a distressing irritation to everyone, including the White House.

* * *

My second illustration also concerns Mr. Nagy. Mr. Nagy recently sent a telegram to Mr. [illegible], of which the following is a translation. I have the original Hungarian if you care to see it:

> "YOU HAVE SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF THE NEW YORK RADIO FREE EUROPE NAMES OF NEW STAFF MEMBERS: HEAD: ANDREW GELLERT, STAFF: KAROLY [illegible], LAJOS BALASZ, [illegible] SAIK, PETER [illegible], MRS L VARGA STOP CONSIDERING THE FACT THAT THIS RADIO STATION BROADCASTS IN THE NAME OF THE DEMOCRATIC HUNGARIAN EXILES, I AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEASANT FEDERATION CALL THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO IMMEDIATELY VOTE WHETHER THIS SOLUTION IS ACCEPTABLE TO US"

Again I would like to know what is going through Mr. Nagy's mind.

NCFE, an American organization, hired Mr. Dessewffy to be the responsible head of its Hungarian Desk in Munich. Mr. Dessewffy was a very careful choice after weeks of consultation on both sides of the Atlantic. His specific instructions were that the Munich Desk should be staffed by people selected for functional competence, excluding, of course, Communists and Fascists.

At the same time, it was felt that the NCFE had permitted political affiliation to overshadow functional competence in the New York Hungarian Desk, and the New York Desk simply wasn't any good. Therefore, the New York Desk and the Munich Desk had to be brought into alignment. So Mr. Dessewffy was sent to America and was given the responsibility of hiring the necessary personnel — and in New York was instructed to apply the same yardstick that he applied in Munich.

When Mr. Dessewffy had fulfilled his New York task, again after the most serious consideration of all the angles involved in each one of his choices, Mr. Nagy sent him the telegram quoted above as though Mr. Nagy were in the position to control, or at least to veto, the membership of the Desk.

Does Mr. Nagy really believe that he is in that position? Or is this pure polarization. As we all know, this is a move directed against Mr. Gellert, who does not happen to have the same political coloration as Mr. Nagy. In a recent conversation with Mr. Nagy, I asked him if the telegram would have been sent if Mr. Gellert had not been selected, and he admitted that it would not have been sent.

There is an additional interesting element in this, in that Mr. Nagy calls for a vote as the President of the Hungarian Peasant Union. Doesn't Mr. Nagy know that the Hungarian Peasant Union does not exist as a viable political party; it only exists in the individual persons in exile who happen formerly to have been members of the Hungarian Peasant Union. Mr. Nagy is not a member of a government-in-exile, or even of a parliament-in-exile, so that this action of his is totally unreal, indicating unwillingness to recognize the world as it exists.

Doesn't Mr. Nagy realize that the only way that exile politicians can achieve political reality is through national and international unity in order to bring about the liberation

of their countries, and therefore the day when they can once again start legitimate and real party rivalry to appeal to a free electorate?

* * *

The third case I would like to mention concerns Mr. Zoltan Pfeiffer.

After Mr. Dessewffy made his selections for the New York Desk, Mr. Pfeiffer got in touch with him to protest against the fact that in selecting Mr. Gellert, Mr. Dessewffy had been <u>unfaithful to the Smallholders Party</u>, which because Mr. Dessewffy had formerly been a member of that party, expected a clean sweep of the New York Desk, irrespective of functional competence. Mr. Pfeiffer further stated — and this is the really important point — that because of the appointment of Mr. Gellert, Mr. Pfeiffer would have to "attack" Mr. Dessewffy from now on, wherever and whenever possible; in short, a declaration of war.

Again, I would like to understand Mr. Pfeiffer's mental processes. Who does he think he is? Where does he think he is? This is a very serious world, and not a Rudolf Friml operetta. Mr. Pfeiffer is not in Budapest conducting a political campaign against a wayward member of a Left-wing party. Mr. Pfeiffer is in New York, an associate of NCFE, with every opportunity to have his opinion heard and his influence felt. But after a decision has been made, in good faith and after long consideration, to employ a man because of his competence to do a job, it is Mr. Pfeiffer's responsibility as an associate of the same organization to help that man do his work, and not to indulge in declarations of war in order to disrupt the operation.

* * *

I am sorry to have had to go into this unpleasant detail, but after a year of patiently observing and listening, I feel that I have earned the right to speak plainly.

I hope that somehow or other, it will be possible for you to explain to your membership that NCFE does not intend to be hampered or sabotaged by exile political maneuvering.

I also hope that you will be able to persuade your compatriots that insofar as NCFE can interpret U.S. policy,

it believes that the Government of the United States, looking forward to the eventual liberation of Hungary, will not permit any political group or individual in exile, to set up a monopoly for himself, his group, or his party.

With renewed thanks for your highly successful work in the past, and the fervent hope that you will be equally successful in the future, I am

Sincerely yours,

C. D. Jackson

Monsignor Bela Varga
227 East 72nd Street
New York, N. Y.

14-00000

SECRET

7 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: NCFE

1. For quite some time the staff officers of this division concerned with utilizing the facilities of the NCFE and with exploiting the Albanian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian emigrations have been aware of a lack of adequate coordination between our own activities and those of the NCFE staff. In conjunction with those PY Division officers responsible for handling our relations with that organisation, we have attempted to explore the problem in order to find a solution which could be considered realistic and practical.

2. The difficulty lies not only in the communication system between OPC and NCFE, which does not always transmit, at exactly the right time, the right ideas from one organisation to the proper individuals at the right level in the other. Although we have maintained very close contact both informally and through formal channels, only too often we have not been in a position to learn why NCFE staff officers have made a given decision in regard to some emigre organisation in which we had an interest; and on the other hand, our desires and needs have not always been fully understood or accepted in New York. Again, it has happened that we were ignorant of developments that closely affected our operations until it was too late for us to make our influence felt, and, correspondingly, it must be admitted that we have ourselves pushed ahead with courses of action without adequately briefing the NCFE. The most extreme case in point known to us concerns the Rumanian emigration, where we and NCFE are now pursuing conflicting policies. The upshot of this has been the gradual development of a situation wherein OPC is supporting an organisation, the NCFE, which is not fully responsive to it.

3. This situation is not regarded by us as reflecting any fundamental inadequacy in NCFE, or as presenting any insoluable difficulty. There exists a problem in staff interrelationship which can and should be resolved by a reform in our organisational approach. The goal toward which we believe we should work is one where OPC communication with NCFE would be channelled directly along a single high-level line which would firmly tie in ADPC's office with that of the head of the other organisation. Ideas, suggestions, information, etc. would flow, in the regular channels, up from the OPC working level to ADPC's office for review and transmission to the top office of NCFE, and flow down from there through NCFE's usual channels to the proper individuals in its operational machinery. Personal contacts between individuals at a lower level in the two organisations would frequently occur to supplement this usual channel, when security permitted, but should be in the hands of responsible personnel who understand the OPC policies involved.

4. As the first

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4. As the first and principal step toward this arrangement, it is recommended that an experienced, knowledgeable, high-level CIA officer responsible to ADPC be stationed in the NCFE organization to work directly with Admiral Miller. For cover purposes he would carry the title of Deputy to the President, but there should be no doubt in the minds of the NCFE top echelon as to his complete identity with CIA. Because his sole task would be to represent ADPC's interests, he should not normally be in the NCFE chain of command, should not be paid by that organization, and should not be made responsible for any given NCFE function or activity. We visualize his function as that of a representative charged with explaining and representing CIA's interests, functioning as a channel of information about the organization to which he is accredited, and controlling all liaison between the two. In our opinion, the establishment of this post, with a suitable individual assigned to the job, would immediately correct most of the present difficulties, and would provide the necessary machinery within which a fully satisfactory relationship between OPC and NCFE could develop.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

SE/PC/DSY:ej

Distribution:
Addressee - Orig. & 1
SE/RE - 2
SE/PC - 2
✓PY - 1 (Mr. [illegible])

14-00000

1. Intricacies of Balkan politics
2. CIA's ~~failure~~ to provide continuing policy guidance to the Exec. Com. in N.Y.
3. No final focus of responsibility for national council policy in Wash.
4. An office in N.Y. which is poorly staffed has made itself virtually independent of CIA guidance.

Mature
savoir-faire
Broad background in Balkan politics.

Policy Recs.

a. Maintenance of National Councils
b. Expansion of NCFE activis in Paris
* c. Support of Horizontal Groups.
IPU
CDU
Slavik - Mayer / Nagy Groups etc.

Admin. Recd. : Emigre Affairs

a.) formulate policy on emigre matters w/ views of CIA line divisions
Dept of State
&
other US Govt

b.) provide direct policy guidance or control over NCFE offices.

Rel. w/ other CIA offices

Adviser. Rel. — ...

14-00000

· Office of I.O. should be kept informed of all transactions undertaken between the line divisions & NCFE

W/Dept of State

a. Close contacts w/ area desks of Dept of State

b. Meet jointly w/ members of Dept. in a CIA– State Coord. Com. to formulate policy on emigre matters.

W/NCFE

Close supervision & control over NCFE in N.Y. & Paris.

Integrate in NCFE's offices one or several high level individuals working directly for CIA.

Purpose

Discussion

Orig. Objectives

Status of Coms

Reasons for Failure

Possible Courses of Action

Recs

14-00000

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

7 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Thomas W. Braden

SUBJECT: Relations with National Councils

1. Attached hereto is a study concerning the National Councils, with certain conclusions and recommendations.

2. I have deliberately delayed submitting this study because I wanted to be sure of the validity of my criticism and recommendations. To this end, I discussed this paper at several stages of its development with various officers in the line divisions concerned and also with individuals who have been in close touch with the National Councils Division of NCFE. As a result, I feel that what is submitted in the attached study reflects not only my own views, but also those of the responsible area experts.

3. I feel you will agree that, under existing conditions, it is impossible to carry out effectively any of the functions related to national council matters with which we are charged. The recent "Nagy Affair" and the resultant embarrassment serves as a good illustration.

4. In view of the interest that has been demonstrated in this paper by SE and EE-2, it is suggested that copies of the study be sent to them.

5. This whole matter, I believe, is of such importance as to warrant further discussion, and I should appreciate having the opportunity of talking to you.

Ellen Stern

ELLEN STERN

Attachment
As stated above

cc: DCPY

SECRET

STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RELATIONS WITH NATIONAL COUNCILS

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to 1) review briefly the accomplishments of the National Councils Division of NCFE, 2) attempt to point out the reasons why the National Councils have not accomplished what they set out to do and 3) make certain recommendations with respect to policy and administration to remedy the present unsatisfactory and unworkable situation. This last assumes that CIA must continue to sponsor the National Council complex. However, it can do so only if certain basic changes are made and if it is recognized that it is incumbent on CIA to regain control of the important personalities of the Eastern European emigration.

DISCUSSION

I Original Objectives of National Councils Division

The National Councils Division of the National Committee for a Free Europe was created on 3 April 1950 by resolution of the Board of Directors. The underlying principle, as stated in the Declaration of Policy in June 1950, was to aid the "non-Fascist and non-Communist leaders in their peaceful efforts to prepare the way toward the restoration in Eastern Europe of the social, political and religious liberties in which they and we believe." The councils were to function as "representative, harmonious and effective groups" and, as such, to play a part in the struggle against Communism in Eastern Europe. They were not to be considered as governments in exile nor as ends in themselves.

National Committees and Panels,* as supported by NCFE, were to fulfill a two-fold function: as 1) overt instruments, they were to a) serve as a symbol of unity both in this country and abroad, b) provide a reservoir of "name" manpower for propaganda use, c) supply general propaganda policy advice, and d) supply NCFE with both general and specific intelligence with respect to homeland activities and personalities. As 2) covert instruments, they were to serve as a cover for operations undertaken by CIA aimed at combatting Soviet oppression in the satellite states.

*These are: the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Panels, which were set up with the help of NCFE and which function well.

II Status of Committees

During the course of the past year, it has become increasingly apparent that national committees have failed to operate as "representative, effective and harmonious groups." Out of the six groups of emigres supported financially by NCFE,* only three have any sort of a working council (the Albanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian) and only one--the Hungarian--operates with any degree of harmony. The Czech and Rumanian Councils have split into two opposing factions. The Czechs have recently effected a reconciliation which, to date, is merely a paper "agreement" and is still awaiting implementation. No attempts at bringing together the Rumanian Association and the Rumanian Committee have succeeded. The Bulgarian Committee, while not split, has been handicapped by the dictatorial methods of its Chairman, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, and has therefore been of little value as an organization. Attempts to offset this situation by an enlargement of the Committee are now under way. An enlargement of the Albanian Committee is also considered to be necessary, but here disagreement with the British is a complicating factor. The Poles, after long years of dissension, finally seem to have agreed on the formation of a Council of National Unity. Additional information regarding each of these committees is appended hereto.

III Reasons for the Failure

The reason for the failure of the national councils to fulfill the stated objectives has often been attributed to intrigue, rivalry and jealousy among emigre politicians. While this is certainly a contributing factor, it is one which should be expected in any dealings with leaders reared in the intricacies of Balkan politics. A more important and far more basic cause for the present shortcomings of the national councils has been CIA's failure to provide continuing policy guidance to, and appropriate control over, the Executive Committee of NCFE in New York. This failure has in large part resulted from the lack of a clearly defined mechanism within CIA through which to perform these functions.

At present a situation exists in which there is:

1) No final focus of responsibility for national council policy in Washington. Various individuals throughout CIA and the Department of State are meddling in national council and related emigre matters owing to the vacuum which CIA has permitted to develop and because no one is charged with final responsibility. Furthermore, members of the

*The six groups are: the Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Rumanian.

Executive Committee in New York often confer, and reach certain agreements, with high ranking individuals in CIA and the Department of State without consulting, or even informing, anyone else. This has led to a great deal of confusion, duplication of work and, of course, embarrassment.

2) An office in New York which is poorly staffed and which has made itself virtually independent of CIA guidance. (Due probably to the lack of proper guidance and control in the past, there is at present a great amount of free wheeling in the New York office. The members of the Executive Committee seem to feel that they are an autonomous unit rather than agents of their sponsoring office.) Furthermore, dealings with the experienced politicians in exile from the satellite states require a staff which is mature, has savoir-faire and a broad background in Balkan politics. This is not presently the case.

3) A feeling among emigres that the promises and threats made by NCFE are meaningless and that money will be forthcoming under almost any conditions.

IV Possible Courses of Action

Confronted with the situation sketched above, it would appear that insofar as CIA is concerned, the following alternative courses of action are possible: 1) Keep the present set-up; 2) withdraw support from emigre affairs; 3) ask the Department of State to take over; or 4) make certain changes along lines recommended below.

Since the present set-up is unsatisfactory for the reasons indicated above, obviously the first alternative may be immediately dismissed. The second alternative is not feasible because the peoples of the satellite countries are important allies of the United States in the cold war and it is to our interest to afford assistance to the principal Eastern European refugees and their major organizations. The State Department cannot take over relations with the emigres because of the official recognition given by the United States to the "Democratic Republics" of Eastern Europe. The logical, indeed inescapable course for CIA to follow, therefore, is to continue to deal with the most important Eastern European emigres on the basis of ~~certain~~ the premises which follow:

1) NCFE is an organization, set up by and subordinate to CIA, charged with emigre affairs as directed by the sponsoring office.

2) The emigre groupings in this country do not constitute governments in exile, but merely units useful for the following functions:

a. Prestige Use

To serve as a symbol of resistance to the subjugated peoples behind the iron curtain. To provide speakers

at various meetings in this country and at gatherings, such as the European Movement, abroad.

b. Psychological Warfare

To engage in all sorts of activities which will encourage the spirit of resistance of the peoples of Eastern Europe and keep the story of Eastern Europe's struggle for liberation before the people of the West by appropriate publicity.

c. Research, Analysis and Planning

To organize and carry on long-range research analysis and planning projects which will utilize the talents of the Eastern European refugees. This area includes the Library of Congress and other research projects and the activities of the horizontal international organizations, such as the Slavik-Mayer/Nagy Groups.

3) National Councils Will Not Control RFE. Notwithstanding the State Department's views, it is wise at present to maintain the separation between the national councils and RFE. While emigres should continue to have an opportunity to speak to the peoples behind the iron curtain, they should do so as individual patriots and not as representatives of a council or of a political party. RFE, if it is to be an effective "voice" to the satellite peoples, must necessarily keep free from petty intrigues and political "empire building" currently being exhibited by the national councils. Should the national councils become the real symbols they were intended to be, they could then play a significant role in RFE.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following policy and administrative recommendations are submitted as essential to the successful operation of emigre affairs:

1) Policy Recommendations

a. Maintenance of National Councils

During the foreseeable future, the structure of the national councils will have to be maintained. It is suggested, however, that their activities in this country be limited to the functions mentioned above.

14-00000

On b, I'd like to see this potential assessed further. For instance, do we have collected information on the reservoir of emigre manpower in Paris — or do we have to rely on independent WE3 for this.

On c. How?

3 b. ~~Expansion of NCFE Activities in Paris~~

It is further recommended that a greater degree of US control be effected over the vast reservoir of emigre manpower now concentrated in Europe. The expansion of, and tightened supervision over, the NCFE office in Paris would provide this control. ~~It would additionally 1) provide a much-needed outlet for the younger elements of the emigration, 2) offset the attempts made by the French and the British to use these elements, 3) be useful from the psychological warfare aspect and also in long-range planning of the liberation of the satellite states.~~ It would also prepare the way for close liaison which must be maintained, since as seems probable the French, the British and the Council of Europe are ~~running~~ conducting overt exile activities.

insert

4 c. ~~Support of Horizontal Groupings~~

It is recommended that the activities of horizontal groupings, such as the International Peasant Union, the Christian Democratic Union, the Slavik-Mayer/Nagy Groups, etc. be encouraged. Constructive work on the part of the exiles from the satellite states that would cut across national lines should be viewed favorably and may well become the most constructive element in the emigre political complex.

2) Administrative Recommendations.

There should be, in CIA, an office charged with the responsibility for all emigre matters. While it is recognized that this entails a vast amount of administrative work (budget, personnel, security, etc.), the discussion that follows will be devoted only to the political aspects of the work.

The terms of reference of this office for "Emigre Affairs" should be, inter alia, to 1) formulate policy on emigre matters, soliciting and bearing in mind the views of the CIA line divisions, the Department of State and other offices of the United States Government, and 2) provide direct policy guidance and control over the NCFE offices.

a. Relationship with Other CIA Offices

The office for "Emigre Affairs" should act as an advisory body and serve as a functional link providing the necessary liaison between the CIA line divisions and the National Councils Division of NCFE. The office of "Emigre Affairs" should likewise be kept regularly informed of all transactions undertaken between the line divisions and NCFE.

b. Relationship with the Department of State

The office for "Emigre Affairs" should 1) maintain close contact with the area desks of the Department of State and 2) meet jointly with members of the Department in a CIA-State Coordinating Committee, (see chart attached) for the purpose of formulating policy on emigre matters.

c. Relationship with NCFE

The office for "Emigre Affairs" should maintain close supervision and control over the NCFE office in New York and in Paris. This can be achieved only by having integrated in NCFE's offices one or several high level individuals working directly for CIA.

Detailed recommendations on the structure of the Office for "Emigre Affairs" is appended hereto.

ELLEN STERN

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PROPOSED OFFICE FOR "EMIGRE AFFAIRS".

I. Organization

Chief
Deputy Chief
Two Staff Assistants
Two Secretaries

II. Functions

The overall function of the office for "Emigre Affairs" should be the formulation and coordination of policy on national council and other emigre affairs and the transmittance of such policy to NCFE.

1. Liaison and coordination with other CIA Offices.

a. Transmission of material from NCFE offices to line divisions.
b. Transmission of material from line divisions to NCFE.
c. Coordination with the line divisions on all emigre matters in which they have an interest. If the office for "Emigre Affairs" is kept informed on the needs of the line divisions, the NCFE should be able to perform functions useful to the divisions.
d. To facilitate the dealings between the Office for "Emigre Affairs" and the line divisions, there should be one person in EE-2, SE and WE-3 designated as liaison officer on emigre matters.

2. Liaison and coordination with the Department of State.

a. There should be a CIA-State Coordinating Committee, which should meet regularly to discuss matters pertaining to the national councils and emigre affairs.
b. Although a member of the NCFE may occasionally be present at a meeting of the Coordinating Committee, regular sessions should be attended only by members of CIA and the State Department. The system, which has been in effect during the last four months, under which bi-weekly meetings have taken place between a representative of the NCFE in New York and the Department must be discontinued.

3. Supervision of the activities of the NCFE.

a. The office for "Emigre Affairs" should be charged with the supervision of the NCFE office in New York and in Paris.

SECRET

b. One or more high level individuals in the NCFE offices should be CIA agents. While having authority for certain spot decisions, they should be responsible for all actions to headquarters in Washington. There should be regular contact between the NCFE offices and headquarters.

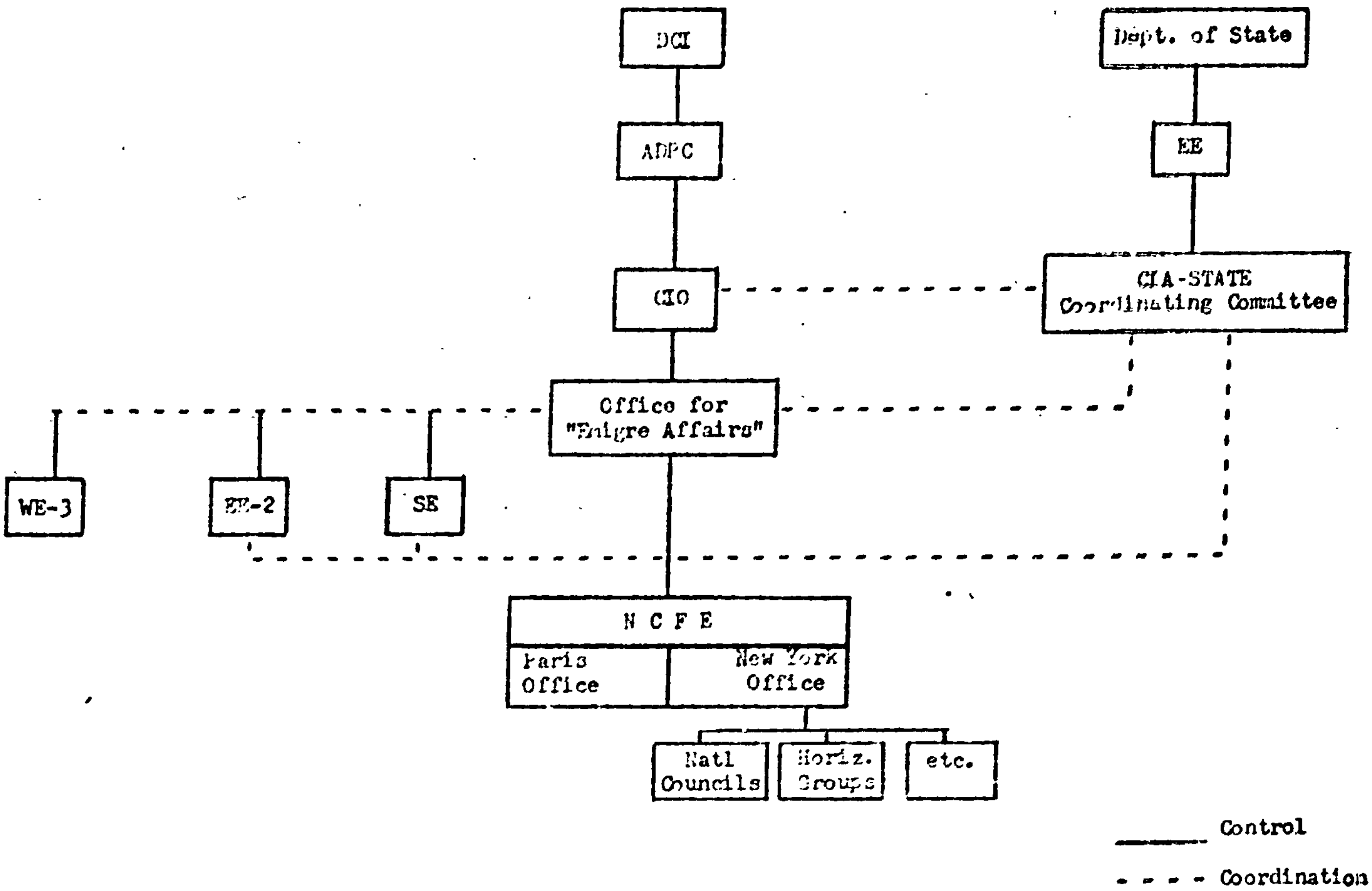
4. Handling of all other work related to emigre matters.

a. Sterilizing and distributing Zinnia reports.
b. Preparing memoranda on emigre matters.
c. Coordinating action cables with line divisions.
d. Maintaining extensive files on national council and related emigre affairs.

Think we should superimpose NCFE as a whole and fit this "Office of Emigre affairs" into the picture, as one arm.

4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIA, STATE AND NCFE



6 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAY E. MILLARD

FROM: THOMAS MYERS

SUBJECT: Herman Moschner - Convicted Spy

1. Pursuant to our conversation, you are advised that the captioned individual was convicted in the U. S. Court at Nurnberg on 31 January 1952 on a charge of espionage. U. S. Attorney developed information which was turned over to us indicating that among other things Moschner had been directed by the Czech intelligence service to procure information about Radio Free Europe, especially bearing on the guarding of the installations and the consequences of an act of sabotage. Moschner was not an employee of RFE and the basis of the espionage charge against him was that he had endeavored to obtain information concerning personnel and activities of the CIC.

2. Through the courtesy of a friendly U. S. agency, we have been provided with a copy of the targets which Moschner had been given by the Czech intelligence service. I am attaching a copy of the list of such targets and you will note that the activities of this individual clearly reflect the interest of Czech intelligence in possible sabotage of the physical installations of RFE in Munich. Further information is being developed in this matter and I will advise you when I receive same.

THOMAS MYERS

14-00000

STRICTLY PRIVATE　　　　COPY

APPENDIX "A"

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF INFORMATION REGARDING RADIO FREE EUROPE
ISSUED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.

The following are essential elements of information:

1. Plans of all RFE buildings and RFE transmitter stations.

2. Dimensions of antenna used and distance between antenna towers.

3. Phone numbers of transmitter stations.

4. Plans of all telephone lines, specifically lead-ins and terminals.

5. Relationship of one RFE building to another in an operational sense.

6. Addresses and telephone numbers of all individuals connected with RFE.

7. Details of functions and operations of each transmitter.

8. The number of guards at each RFE installation, nationality of such guards, and duty assignments and locations, whether accompanied by police dogs.

9. Number of civilians usually in RFE buildings at night.

10. How and what transmission operations are conducted at night.

11. Complete plans of electrical power lines and power supply at each transmitter station.

12. How many rural policemen are located in the area of each transmitter station, addresses.

13. Addresses and details concerning guard personnel at each transmitter station.

14. Number and identity of persons working in all of RFE and their addresses.

15. Distance of transmitter stations from rural police headquarters.

NOTE: A certain amount of repetition in the above essential elements of information may exist. However, they were submitted to me only as notes taken from a highly classified report and therefore may not be as exact as given by Moschner during his interrogation. On Monday we shall attempt to get the entire report of Moschner's statements regarding RFE and shall submit further pertinent details.

2/15/52

14-00000

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET
(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO		INITIALS	DATE
1	DD/P		
2	DDCI		
3			
4			
5			
FROM		INITIALS	DATE
1	CIO	TWB	24 Apr
2			
3			

☐ APPROVAL ☐ INFORMATION ☐ SIGNATURE
☐ ACTION ☐ DIRECT REPLY ☐ RETURN
☐ COMMENT ☐ PREPARATION OF REPLY ☐ DISPATCH
☐ CONCURRENCE ☐ RECOMMENDATION ☐ FILE

REMARKS:

This story of the Nagy affair as it was related to OO by Contact is pretty old hat, but you might nevertheless find material of interest in it.

TWB
TWB

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM NO. 30-4
SEP 1947

14-00000

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

Executive Registry 2-8541

Chief, Operations Division, OPC
Attention: Mr. W. F. Rowland
Chief, Contact Division, OO

29 February 1952

HH-196

Hungarian Exile Activities

1. A Hungarian Government-in-Exile which feels that it can "awaken the spirit of resistance and result in piercing the Iron Curtain and liquidating the Communists in Hungary" has been formed under the direction of Ferenc Nagy. This group came to our attention when Louis Goldstein, a New York jeweler, suggested that a representative of this Agency call on Paul Weiss and Leo Weiner, New York lawyers, who had been approached by Ferenc Nagy regarding the organization of this group. Mr. Weiss furnished our New York office with information regarding Mr. Nagy's organization.

2. Members of this group other than Nagy are Geza Teleki, Karolyi Peyer, Zoltan Pfeiffer, Dezso Sulyok, Zoltan Kay, Istvan Barankovics, Albert Bartha, Paul Auer and Aladar Szegedy-Maszak. The objective of this group is to form a government-in-exile which would combat Communism in Hungary, strengthen resistance, develop the underground, ship radio parts and transmitters as well as arms, revive a good propaganda campaign, raise troops and fan resistance in the event of war, and set up a temporary de facto government in Hungary if the West wins. This group, which claims to represent 83 per cent of the Hungarian people as of the last free elections, would hold free elections as soon as possible and let the people choose a new government. They want official recognition as a government-in-exile and US Government financial support with the control of funds handled by the US Government. (Our field representative comments that: "This is the first of many groups probably being formed in the hope of getting some of the Mutual Assistance $100,000,000.")

3. This group says that Radio Free Europe is a joke and a travesty on the term "democracy", and that something should be done about it. Members of the organization claim that Communist propaganda is beamed out by RFE and that the Munich office is staffed with the following Nazis: Emile Csonka; (fnu) Maori (phonetic); Aladar Kovacs; Laszlo Beroi; Andras Szekely; (fnu) Zalaberi (phonetic); Mejo Poharnuk and his wife. Also, the following Communists are on the Munich staff: Josef Kemeni (phonetic); Zoltan Szabo; (fnu) Mikes; Laszlo Szabo.

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

4. The Hungarian group hopes to be a member of the Central and Eastern European Committee which will be something of a coordinating committee for the various yet-to-be-formed Satellite governments-in-exile. A partial list of the members of this large Committee (all of whom also seem to claim that RFE is rotten) follows:

Ferenc Nagy, President
Istvan Barankovics
Josef Cerny
George Dimitroffo
Hasan Dosti
Cornel Filo
Mihai Krek
Vlatko Macek
Stanislaw Mikolajczyk
Stefan Osuski
Augustin Popa
Vaclovas Tsidzikauskas
Constantin Visoianu

5. Mr. Weiss is getting the political plans of the Hungarian Group and the Central and Eastern European Committee and will give them to us when he receives them. Once he has given us this material, he hopes to let our field men deal directly with the national group leaders. These leaders hope to sell themselves and their ideas to CIA and have expressed their willingness to supply CIA exclusively with intelligence information. (We assume that this group's cooperation will be commensurate with the amount of financial support which CIA gives them).

6. Our field representative has commented that this group may also try to discredit RFE although "...most of these bums would be starving if it were not for RFE help. They already have Lawyer Weiss believing that RFE is one of the most evil things going." ..."We told these two /Mr. Weiss and Mr. Weiner/ that we were interested in getting all possible information on these groups and impressed upon them the fact that we could guarantee no favorable action. It was also necessary to persuade them that Radio Free Europe is not supported by our agency."

7. Paul Weiss maintains a New York law office at 369 Lexington Avenue. He was born on 29 November 1911 in New York City and served in the Infantry during World War II. Later, he was in Military Government in Korea. His partner, Mr. Weiner, was born 20 April 1913 and attended Harvard Law School.

SECRET

8. We shall follow up on this and shall keep you advised. If you have particular points which you would like us to discuss with Mr. Weiss, please let us know.

S. M. ASHCRAFT

cc: AD/O (1)
Chief, Psychological Warfare Division, OPC (1) ✓
Chief, Cover Division/PLANS/OSO (2)

cc: Mr. Jackson
Mr. Lang

EXCERPT FROM LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 21, 1952, FROM SPENCER PHENIX TO CLAYTON [illegible]:

"Second, my own plans; until I know when we are to see Dr. Lenz and what the consequences of that interview may be, I can of course make no definite travel arrangements. I should like to go to Strasbourg and talk with them there about the enlargement plans for the College de L'Europe Libre; I want to have a few days in Paris, if possible, to catch up on developments in Royall's area; and I feel it important to have about a week in Lisbon. Forgetting the question of dates my itinerary would probably be Strasbourg, Paris, Lisbon, New York, and if there is to be any considerable delay before we can see Dr. Lenz I shall plan to go to Strasbourg from Frankfurt, then return to Frankfurt and then go direct to Paris. It would please me if I were able to go back to New York in time to go to New Hampshire to vote in the primaries on March 11, but this may be an idle hope.

Third, our Frankfurt negotiations; as I cabled C.D. we reached complete agreement on the technical basis, covered by the draft licensing-agreement. Throughout our discussions we were treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration. The original draft submitted for our study contained several ambiguities and specific provisions which, if literally construed would defeat the purpose which both sides seemed to have in mind. Our suggestions for changes and modifications were accepted after a minimum amount of discussion. Whenever we made a valid point, the fact was recognized at once by the others. Dick agrees with me that one could not expect to receive any more courteous or considerate treatment, and we were all very much pleased by the atmosphere at the ministry. You realized, of course, that the technical side of the question is by no means the complete picture, and it remains to be seen how rapidly we can clear up the non-technical aspects. If we can have our Bonn appointment again tomorrow, I ought to be able to have a cable in New York for your opening Monday, indicating the prospects, but if our appointment is delayed until some time next week - one of the local handicaps we are encountering - is a Karneval-period or "Fasching" which reaches its climax Monday. Fasching is much more of a celebration than George Washington's birthday, so Dick and I are willingly sacrificing our holiday tomorrow (strike out Dick from the preceding clause because he tells me that the German operation does not recognise G. Washington's birthday. When I asked him if they had selected Fasching instead because it lasted longer, he avoided a direct answer.) so as not to get involved in a possibly long post-Fasching hangover period. Seriously, very little work is done in Germany the day after the principal Fasching celebration and we hope we can get matters more or less cleared up tomorrow, but I shall not know until I get a telephone call this evening after return to Frankfurt.

EXCERPT FROM LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 21, 1952, FROM SPENCER PHENIX TO CLAYTON MILLER:

P.S. The Bonn telephone message came through. Lens cannot see us tomorrow, or Monday or Tuesday--or, perhaps, anytime. Frits got on the war path and said we could not take that kind of brush-off and Lens, through his assistant Herr Dr Whippersnapper finally said he had turned full responsibility over to a Foreign Office official, a Min. Dr. Strohm whom Frits knows. Frits then tried to reach Strohm but he was allegedly unavailable; Fritz demanded that word be got to him and finally it was, Strohm remarking, "Why, there is no hurry about this, is there?" Strohm told Frits he couldn't see us before Thursday. An appointment has therefore been made for us at the Foreign Office in Bonn at 10 A.M. next Thursday the 28th. I haven't worked out my schedule between now and then but shall probably do Strasbourg and Paris and then proceed from Frankfurt to Lisbon assuming that to be possible which I don't yet know. Please inform C.L. of the foregoing and Bob Lang will ask to see this letter as Dick has just telephoned to Munich a teletype message for Bob referring to this letter.

I am, I confess, rather concerned about these recent developments. The "agreement" we reached with the Bundespost on technical points has no significance without a parallel political clearance in Bonn, so speed with the former has no meaning in the face of delay in the latter. Tell C.L., therefore, that my ten-watt green light has gained no wattage.

cc: Mr. Jackson
Mr. Lang

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

__ February 1952

DRAFT: TELEGRAM FROM THE HONORABLE JOSEPH C. GREW TO CONGRESSMAN O. K. ARMSTRONG.

I keenly regret to inform you that, upon further reflection and upon the basis of information which has recently come to my attention, I consider it inadvisable for me to address your Psychological Strategy Conference, and that I find it necessary to ask you to release me from speaking at your meeting on Saturday. When I was first asked to speak about the significance of National Committee for a Free Europe and the activities of Radio Free Europe, I understood that the Conference would discuss propaganda and psychological warfare. I ~~wrote~~ [note] from the release issued by your office, that among the purposes of the conference are the presentation of definite plans of action to increase resistance movements, and to aid the peoples of the Soviet nation and the Satellite States to overthrow their regimes, as well as to establish a continuing organization to carry out the programs developed at the conference. This release also indicates that there will be full and open discussion of such matters and that persons purporting to represent underground movements in Poland, the Baltic States, Russia, China, Korea, etc., will take part in discussions.

It is my personal view that it would be unwise to discuss matters of this sensitive and provocative character in open meetings, particularly where programs of specific action are considered. It seems to me that public discussions of such matters and revelations of plans and programs would not only expose and thus jeopardize the existence of any resistance movements which may be identified and described, as well as the lives of the people participating, but would also provide quantities of adverse propaganda material for use by Soviet and satellite propaganda machines. It is my conclusion that my position and responsibilities as Chairman of the National Committee for a Free Europe make it inappropriate for me to speak before or lend my name to such a gathering because of the significance which might be attributed to such appearance. I want to express my full sympathy with the motivation of yourself and your co-sponsors, and to point out in this connection that the aims and objectives of the National Committee for a Free Europe, of which I am Chairman, are to keep hope alive among the prisoner peoples of the slave states and to provide assistance to fugitives from Soviet tyranny. I especially desire that my decision against appearing shall not be a cause of embarrassment to yourself or the others concerned. I therefore suggest that you inform those who you believe should know, that due to unforeseeable circumstances I have found myself unable to attend.

Orig:

DC/PY - for files ✓
DD/P - chrono - 1
LF - -1
Henry Poore - for use as guide.

Mr. Wisner read to Mr. Grew over long-distance telephone today and the latter said he would send ~~use~~ the message from Princeton. BJm

SECRET

14-00000

For Prelim. text license negot. between NCFE and Bundespost subj. to Ger. polit. approval, see: Bonn to State 1688 of 25 Feb. '52, C VR-265, Confic Sec. Info., copy being retained by DCPY.

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

18 February 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: "The 'Voice' and Radio Free Europe Complement Each Other"

1. The attached leaflet was inserted as a supplement in the January "Crusader", a newsletter which is sent out to the 8,000 regional chairmen of the Crusade for Freedom organization. It was prepared with the cooperation of the Voice of America officers in New York and was reviewed by the P Area of the Department of State.

2. It is intended to acquaint the regional Crusade organizations with the facts about VOA and offset any criticism or unfortunate comparisons that may have sprung up during the 1951 campaign.

H. OATES LLOYD
Deputy Chief
Psychological Staff Division

Attachment:
As described above

Distribution:
Addressee - Original
DD/P - 1

ADPC - 1
C/EE - 1
C/SE - 1
C/WE - 1
CIO - 1
DCPY - 1
RI - 2

SECRET

THE "VOICE" AND RADIO FREE EUROPE COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER

Both Are Indispensable

"What's the difference between the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe?" "Why is it necessary to have both the Voice and Radio Free Europe?" These are frequent questions asked of General Clay and the other leaders of the Crusade for Freedom.

The Voice and Radio Free Europe are both vitally needed if we are to win the Cold War.

They are completely separate organizations. Each performs a distinct function in the fight against the gigantic Soviet propaganda machine.

The Voice speaks with the authority of the U. S. Government. It is financed by Government funds.

Radio Free Europe was set up by private citizens. It is financed by millions of individual contributions to the Crusade for Freedom.

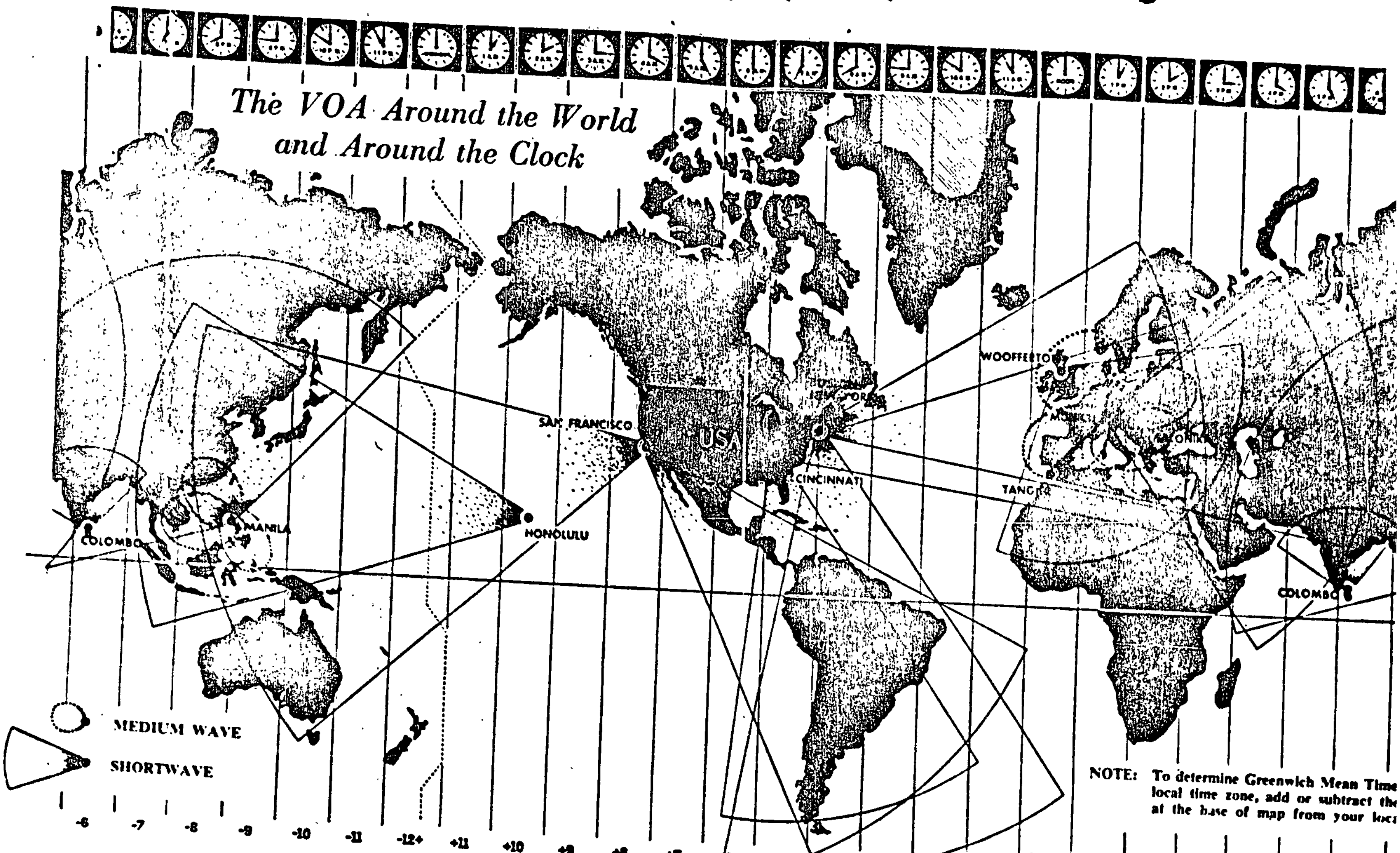
Voice is World Wide

The Voice is a worldwide network, broadcasting in 46 languages over 75 transmitters. It is the only American voice heard in the Soviet Union. Its 120 individual daily programs of news, music, roundtables, commentaries, documentaries, service programs, etc., have a potential audience of 300,000,000 listeners.

Radio Free Europe is much smaller. It concentrates on the captive countries behind the Iron Curtain: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. Its transmitters are in Western Europe.

The Voice speaks for the American people, spreading the truth about democracy, giving a true picture of life in the United States, and spiking Moscow's lies about us. It reports in full on official American acts and documents, presents news and world developments from our point of view.

But Voice is not limited to Government pronouncements; it regularly reflects American opinion as expressed in our press and radio. In a friendly way—with programs of information and service—it promotes a better understanding of the United States in Europe, in Latin America, the Far East and the Near East.



The Voice of America's Global Network of Broadcasting Facilities

This visualization of the world, on Mercator's Projection, aims to show at a glance how a vast array of transmitters and relay stations carries Voice of America programs in 46 languages to listeners everywhere.

For European countries the programs are transmitted from stations in the United States located near New York City, Boston and Cincinnati, via directional antennas and with transmitters ranging in power from 20,000 to 200,000 watts.

The transmissions are beamed toward Europe, where a network of relay stations picks up and rebroadcasts the programs within dotted areas on the map. Shortwave relay stations are located at Tangier, North Africa, and Woofferton, England, while medium-wave transmitters are located in Munich, Germany, and Salonika, Greece.

Latin American programs are transmitted from shortwave stations located near New Yo Boston, Cincinnati and San Francisco to all countries south of the United States.

To Far Eastern countries the programs are broadcast from high-powered transmitters near San Francisco, then relayed by shortwave transmitters at Honolulu, Manila and Co (Ceylon) and by a medium-wave transmitter at Manila.

The map indicates a considerable overlap of radio coverage from the various transmitters. times the overlapping areas indicate different language programs, and sometimes they indica a single language program is broadcast on several wavelengths, in order to give listeners a ch the clearest signal in a locality. Vertical lines indicate Time Zones, with GMT at Noon a International Date Line as a dotted line.

Exiles Speak Over RFE

Radio Free Europe, on the other hand, does not portray America. It concentrates largely on what is taking place within the slave countries. Over its transmitters Poles speak to Poles, Hungarians to Hungarians, etc. They speak as "the voice of Free Poland," "the voice of Free Hungary," etc. They look at their people's problems through their own eyes.

RFE programs specialize in identifying and denouncing Communist informers and collaborators, sending back messages from escapees, and exposing the corruption and crimes within the Red regimes.

In their broadcasts to behind the Iron Curtain, the Voice and Radio Free Europe have essentially the same aims: to keep alive the hope of liberation; to let listeners know that they have not been forgotten; to stiffen their resistance against their Communist oppressors; to expose the fraudulent basis of authority upon which the Moscow-dominated regimes rest.

Both combat Communism and the persecution of religion and denial of human rights. Both report the superior industrial power and fighting potential of the free world over the Soviet-enslaved world.

1951 Year of Progress for "Voice"

During the past year the Voice of America:

1. Stepped up daily programming from 30 to 50 hours daily.
2. Made progress in overcoming Soviet jamming.
3. Increased its broadcasts to behind the Iron Curtain, adding the "splinter" languages of Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Turkestani, Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian.
4. Inaugurated programs to Albania, Finland, Israel and Portugal in their respective languages; to China in two additional dialects, Swatow and Amoy; to Japan and South and Southeast Asia in Hindi, Urdu, Thai, Burmese and Malayan.
5. Became more outspoken and hard-hitting. One of the principal themes was the support of the UN effort to repel the Chinese and North Korean Communist aggression in Korea. Major attention was given to exposing the fraudulent Soviet "peace" drive.
6. Began work on the "Ring Plan" approved by Congress, which calls for a network of powerful relay bases girdling the globe.
7. Created "Vagabond"—a ship equipped with a transmitter, so that radio broadcasts may be relayed from shipboard.
8. Received 318,000 letters from overseas listeners—an increase of 35% over 1950.
9. Need'ed the Communists so successfully that Radio Moscow and Soviet regional stations doubled their attacks against the Voice.

RESTRICTED

In reply refer to W-1851
R

15 February 1952

Mr. Abbott Washburn
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.
110 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Abbott:

Our friends across the street have reviewed and approved the proposed issue of the "Crusader" which is attached.

They request that the following minor corrections be made:

Item 3 on page 2, Latvian should be added after Estonian.

Item 4 on page 2, Israel should be added after Portugal.

Sincerely,

John L. Damewood

Attachment
The Voice and Radio Free Europe Complement each other
both are indispensable

PY/IS/AGL:cve
Distribution:
Addressee - Orig.
DCPY - 1
CIO - 1
PY/Ex- 1
PY/IS- 1
SD/RE- 2

RESTRICTED
SECURITY INFORMATION

COPY

Confidential

January 24, 1952

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Tom Braden

FROM: John Devine

SUBJECT: "Crusader" Article on VOA

The copy for the proposed issue of the "Crusader" dealing with the Voice of America has been reviewed in the Department of State and has been approved. There are only two minor corrections which are as follows:

1. Item 3 on page 2, Latvian should be added after Estonian.

2. Item 4 on page 2, Israel should be added after Portugal.

This is an encouraging move on the part of RFE and should be very useful in getting VOA's story to a large segment of the American public.

INCOMING TELEGRAM
COPY

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

5-2 14

A TRUE COPY OF THE SIGNED ORIGINAL.

ACTION			CONTROL: 2805
GEA	FROM: Ankara		Rec'd : February 7, 1952 1:12 a.m.
INFO	TO: Secretary of State	
SL	NO: 717, February 6, 6 p.m.	

G
E
P
DCR
DCRA

In view well-known Turk sensitivity (DEPTEL 642, Jan 31) EMB doubts that RFE proposal wld be favorably acted upon by Turk Govt.

We also believe any such approach as contemplated by RFE might seriously jeopardize possibility Turk acceptance VOA relay base proposal.

Regret delay in reply caused by garble in DEPTEL requiring service.

MCGHEE

TT:RO

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

7 February 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Project TPTONIC: Mid-European Studies Center, American Personnel

Attached hereto is a copy of subject list as of 20 November 1951.

JWB per NBV
THOMAS W. BRADEN

Attachment on original only

d.

MID-EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTER
American Personnel
November 29, 1951

ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE HEAD OF MESC - responsible to Director for exile research program, textbook program, American education program, Editorial Department, and administrative operations for Studies Center located at 4 West 57th Street, N.Y.C.

Name: Stetson S. Holmes

Qualifications: AB Rutgers; Marine Corps, Major; Comptroller, Pope-Brooks Foundation, Inc.

Salary: $6,500

DIRECTOR OF DANUBIAN INQUIRY; RESEARCH SUPERVISOR - supervises and controls the research efforts of approximately 40 exiles.

Name: Jacob Hoptner

Qualifications: AB University of Pennsylvania; MA and Ph.D. candidate, Columbia; chief of American Red Cross Mission to Yugoslavia.

Salary: $5,000

RESEARCH SUPERVISOR - supervises and controls the research efforts of approximately 20 exiles.

Name: John H. Woodall

Qualifications: BA and MA, Duke University; Ph.D. candidate, Columbia; CIC, France.

Salary: $4,200

PROJECT MANAGER FOR AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM and temporary supervisor of textbook project -- as scholarship project manager screens applicants and supervises the activities of 39 exile scholarship students in American universities and colleges. Temporarily in charge of 14 exiles doing preliminary work on textbook project. Supervises the research efforts of 7 exiles.

Name: Maurice J. Downey

Qualifications: AB, MA, and Ph.D. candidate, NYU, majoring in education; infantry, U.S. Army.

Salary: $5,000

MESC EDITOR -- responsible for the translating, rewriting, and editing for publication of all manuscripts produced by exile researchers.

Name: Hugh Corbett

Qualifications: BA Oxford; Major, British Army; intelligence officer in Yugoslavia and Albania; former editor, Rinhard and Henry Holt; former editor and chief, Office of Military History, the Department of the Army.

Salary: $7,000

CHIEF OF THE ADMINISTRATION SECTION - responsible for the fiscal control, supply, file control, and general administration.

Salary: $4,000

4 TYPISTS - total salaries -- $10,660

4 SECRETARIES - total salaries -- $13,780

1 CLERK-TYPIST - Salary -- $2,600

1 LIBRARIAN - Salary -- $3,120

1 RECEPTIONIST & ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN - salary -- $3,120

1 OFFICE BOY-MESSENGER - salary -- $2,340

1 SWITCHBOARD OPERATOR - salary -- $2,360

3 EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS - rewriters, script typists, etc. - total salaries -- $10,720

Positions not yet filled:

1 RESEARCH SUPERVISOR

1 PROJECT MANAGER for the Textbook program -- in charge of collecting, evaluating, and revising existing Iron-Curtain country pre-1939 textbooks for post-liberation use. Supervising preparation of new texts where revision of old ones would be insufficient.

1 PROJECT MANAGER for American education section -- responsible for promoting knowledge of and interest in European satellite

countries by working through American education system on all levels, coordinating research in this field.

2 SECRETARIES

14-00000

4 Feb 52

Tom:

Loose ends are here as on a slipped skein of yarn, but:

Recommendations are certainly sound — and the clue to the trouble seems to be in para 8 first then in para 9.

Para 8: No one, I'd guess, was on the job in Munich when Frank Lindsay's priority cable (I checked) of 4 Jan arrived there either Fri 4 Jan or Sat dec 5 Jan. If so, I'll bet RFE would have done one of 2 things: 1) accepted the advice

or

2) delayed in order to check with RFE hdq N Y

Para 9: Of course EE should clear cables on RFE with a particular person here. And that person with RFE N.Y. in necessary cases like this.

Nancy

30 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR INSPECTION AND REPORTS

SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe Broadcasts Regarding the Czech Currency Reform

REFERENCE: DD/P Memorandum to DCPY of 16 January 1952, Same Subject

1. At the risk of making this memorandum overly long, a review of the cable traffic on the above subject appears desirable. According to information available to this office, the campaign to take the psychological initiative in connection with the rumored reform of currency of Czechoslovakia was first proposed by PY Division on 30 December 1951 in cable to Frankfurt and Munich (OUT 96920) as follows:

"a. Persistent rumors claim Czech currency reform imminent. Hungary allegedly printing new Czech currency. Long New Year holiday appears suitable for reform.

b. Request all information this subject forwarded to Fran and Muni.

c. Believe general knowledge rumored reform to Czechs would harass government, cause excessive buying.

d. Suggest Czech operation out of Germany exploit theme soonest in SVOBODNE HLASY and/or pamphlets or other media emphasising:

(1) Economic and political dependency Czechs on Russians and consequent disadvantages.

(2) Instability Czech economy.

(3) Advisability population unload cash for goods.

e. If White Legion prepared suggest exploit theme along lines paragraph d.

f. Muni: Suggest you request Radio Free Europe also exploit theme."

2. On 2 January 1952, OPC/OSO Munich wired Frankfurt (IN 10446) the following message from William Griffith, Policy Advisor for Radio Free Europe at Munich:

"a. Radio Free Europe

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"a. Radio Free Europe reports indicate probably Czech currency reform scheduled for early 1952 affecting larger notes and with at least 50% devaluation.

b. MOB concurs this estimate situation.

c. Request comments on plan which propose submit Radio Free Europe New York for approval: Large campaign reporting above as information from inside stating it latest regime attempt defraud inhabitants telling listeners they can themselves force postponement or abandonment reform by:

(1) Changing all 1,000, 500, 100 notes for smaller.

(2) Buying goods getting rid money.

d. Estimated result buying panic flight from crown.

e. Advantages:

(1) Increase economic crisis.

(2) Disrupt regime plan.

(3) Guaranteed propaganda success (if reform Radio Free Europe helped evade if none helped postpone.)

f. Risk: Must be sure estimate situation as planned campaign only possible once."

Later that same day, another cable (IN 10526) quoted Griffith as follows:

"a. Intend all-out one week campaign beginning 4 January.

b. Requesting National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. approval Radio Free Europe channels.

c. Time element forbids waiting.

d. Pass to C. D. Jackson."

Mr. C. D. Jackson in New York on 2 January 1952, received a similar message direct from his people in Munich who had been alerted in response to paragraph f. of EE Division's cable of 30 December 1951 above. The undersigned happened to be with Mr. Jackson in New York that day, and at his request obtained telephonic confirmation regarding the above exchange of messages. Accordingly, Mr. Jackson told his people to go ahead with their operation.

3. On 3 January 1952, OPC/OSO Frankfurt cabled (IN 10728) their concurrence of the all-out exploitation of the suggested theme as follows:

"a. RE MUNI 6280 (IN 10446) concur all-out exploitation theme as another regime attempt defraud Czechs, best approach. Should stress Soviet guidance planned reform in need bring Czech

economy

"economy closer own and continuing deterioration economic structure Czechoslovakia.

b. Believe methods aimed force postponement or abandonment should be confined suggestions and left discretion populace. Possibility rebuttal campaign and dissafection people seen if plan abandoned following unloading cash and huge buying spree."

4. On Friday 4 January 1952, OPC cabled Munich (OUT 97623):

"Suspend action outlined reference pending instructions which follow soonest."

5. On 5 January 1952 this suspension was amplified as follows to Frankfurt (OUT 98088) with copy to Munich:

"While considerable evidence currency reform may develop do not wish embark on operation until more certain of facts and know more about your plans for handling it. Advise any additional information you able obtain possibility currency reform and send outline contemplated operational program including channels dissemination and themes."

6. On Monday 7 January 1952, the following cable was received from Munich (IN 11613):

"a. Reference too late. Program began 0500 7 January.
b. Instruct."

7. On 9 January 1952 at the request of EP Division, we called Mr. Mahool, Assistant Director of RFE in New York, who advised that he had had no instructions to suspend the Czech currency program. He said that Mr. C. D. Jackson had cabled to RFE, Munich on Saturday, 5 January 1952, to go ahead with the program if they were satisfied it was a bona fide theme and would not backfire. At our request, Mr. Mahool sent the following teletype message to Munich, RFE:

"Did you continue Czechoslovakia currency (program) beyond January 7th as outlined teletyped program content 7th. Our friends advise - one - considerable doubt on part information gathering friends here that it happened or will happen. Two - that information gathering friends advised Munich representative to tell RFE Munich to hold off. Assume you only went ahead 7th on Munich information gathering friends advice and okay."

To the foregoing

SECRET

To the foregoing he received the following reply:

"Czechoslovak currency (program) is continuing in a restrained manner. We are prepared to take credit if it doesn't happen. Munich representative did not advise us postpone until after mid 7th. Went ahead on Munich information gathering friends local rep. But we had their best advice and blessing on this one."

8. According to the foregoing teletype exchange, RFE Munich were not advised until after mid-day Monday, 7 January 1952, of the contents of OPC's cable of Friday, 4 January 1952, suspending the action pending further instructions. It would also appear that OPC, Munich, advised RFE to proceed.

9. The undersigned would like to point out that none of the three outgoing cables (OUT 96920, OUT 97623, OUT 93033) quoted above, were coordinated with the Psychological Staff Division who have the primary responsibility for all matters concerning NCFE and RFE. Had we known about the decision to suspend on 4 January 1952, we would have been able to advise RFE in New York in plenty of time to call off the operation. In this connection, a subsequent message from Munich states that RFE does not consider that their overseas staff is subject to commands of OPC stations, the command channel running only from NCFE New York.

10. DD/P's memorandum of 16 January 1952 on this subject refers to the Director's recommendation that RFE be prepared to play this theme either way, taking credit for either having prevented the reform by premature exposure if nothing is done, or having warned the people in time to protect themselves if their currency is devaluated. As indicated in Griffith's message of 2 January 1952, RFE was aware of this double approach from the start , and has been taking the "we prevented it" line in the occasional references which have been made to the currency problem in the past three weeks.

11. To avoid such confusion in the future, it is recommended that:

a. Before a theme is referred to RFE overseas for exploitation, or even brought to their attention for consideration, it be given to PY Division not only for review here in OPC but also for discussion with the interested people in RFE's New York office.

b. All cables

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b. All cables bearing on the subject be coordinated with PY Division, or that branch having responsibility for NCFE problems.

c. Coordination and clearance with the Department of State be arranged by the area division before any suggestion for exploitation gets out to the field.

d. The command channel for giving instructions to RFE be clarified so that messages intended for their overseas staff will first be cleared with their New York office, which clearance will then be indicated in any messages going out over OPC facilities.

12. In view of the interest taken in this matter by the DD/P's office, it is suggested that this memorandum be forwarded to DD/P with any comments you care to make.

H. GATES LLOYD
Deputy Chief
Psychological Staff Division

DCPY/HGL:ml

Distribution:
Addressee - Original
PY/CIO - 1
PY/IS - 1
DCPY - 1
RI - 2

14-00000

SECRET

#11

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

January 29, 1952

To: Mr. O. E. Hadwood

From: N. H. Prunty

The enclosed letter copy is self-explanatory. It confirms, in my mind, all the worst suspicions that I have had regarding this public relations firm in connection with the Crusade for Freedom. That is one thing.

The fact that they would proceed, even if they had been commissioned to call this meeting for the Crusade for Freedom, without consulting the National Committee office, on whose behalf they are supposed to act, is, in my opinion, assuming alarming proportions.

Either the Crusade for Freedom works on behalf of the National Committee, or it does not.

This is the sort of thing that will really kill the Crusade for Freedom in this city, and is the finale on a whole series of similar incidence.

N.P.

JAN 31 1952

SECRET

January 29, 1952

Dear Abbott:

I have just been informed over the telephone that Earle Rogers. of Counsel Services, Inc., has called a meeting of the Crusade for Freedom Committee in this city, and has failed to consult me in any way in this matter.

This has resulted, as usual, in causing utter confusion in the minds of everyone, and bodes no good for the Crusade in this city nor for the sponsoring organization - the National Commi tee for a Free Europe, for which the Crusade is operating. In your letter of December 7, 1951, to Mr. Hulbert T. Bisselle, Chairman of the Crusade for Freedom in the District of Columbia, you designated me as, Director of the Washington, D.C. office. As I have received no instructions from you to the contrary, I have presumed this situation to be continuing.

The fact that Mr. Rogers would proceed in a matter of this kind without consultation with this office, and without being commissioned by you to undertake such a meeting, is most disturbing. This is the sort of thing that will really kill the Crusade for Freedom in this city.

I shall hope to discuss this matter with you when in New York on Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Moore

Mr. Abbott Washburn,
Executive Vice-Chairman
Crusade for Freedom,
4 West 57th Street,
New York, N.Y.

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SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

Exempt to Registry
52-7786E

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: CIO

NO.

DATE 3 April 52

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. WP/PM Mr Brown, Mr Augustine		1 Apr. Both have seen. Mr A. initialed for both.			Coordination to be indicated on greens. (Incoming ltr 28 Jan. attached)
2. EE Mr Pillsbury, Mr. Droller		1 Apr.			Original of attachment (ltr to Min Miller) will not be dispatched until notification that John Hughes letter has been signed.
3. Mr. Fredericks, Mr. Schrayer					
4. ADPC		9			
5. DD/P	6	8 April	8 April		Has been signed. Ltr has been sent to "Min." JBV 10 April 52
6. DDCI			8/Apr		
7. CIO					See Chrono reply 9 Apr.
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

P-2215

14-00000

Executive Registry
2-7786

January 28, 1952

Dear Allen:

This letter concerns the matter which I discussed with you briefly last week.

For some months past both the officers and directors of the NCFE have been concerned as to what protective steps could be taken in behalf of foreign nationals working for Radio Free Europe in Germany under conditions which might arise in certain eventualities.

I attach copy of a letter bearing on this matter which was written by Lang to Gates Lloyd on November 5, 1951. It gives a concise outline of the problem and suggests a solution of the same. To date, as far as I know, we have not been able to secure any assurances that this is being taken care of. If, as we have been informed, the Army authorities in Germany are willing to help upon receiving clearance from the Department of Defense, we feel every effort should be made to implement this promptly.

Apart from the very real present and potential future value of the foreign nationals in the group, the Committee feels that it has a definite moral obligation to seek the same degree of assistance and protection for them as would be afforded United States citizens under the conditions referred to.

Personally, I feel this obligation is a broader one which extends to this Government as well.

Last Thursday when we were discussing this question in New York, Joe Grew was much interested and said he would be glad to assist in any way possible. We all felt, however, that this is not a matter which the Committee can take up direct with the Defense Department or other Government agencies here and that it can only be brought to a proper solution through action on the part of the Director or yourself.

Please be good enough to take this matter under consideration and give us the benefit of your advice.

Yours,

John C. Hughes

STRICTLY PRIVATE

5 November 1951

Dear Mr.________________

As you know, RFE has, at the present writing, some 1000-1100 people in Germany. They are largely concentrated in Munich and its environs, although some are scattered in and around the Frankfurt and Heidelberg region. The staff is composed of Americans, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles (at an early date), large numbers of German housekeeping and engineering personnel, plus a few French, Swiss, Belgians, British, etc. Full details on the disposition of the staff are available in Munich and have been turned over to EUCOM in an effort to interest EUCOM in the most serious problem which faces us today - that of evacuation in the event of a move by any of the Russian armies.

Through Lt. Co. Ciccolella we have been fortunate enough to have our American personnel included in the evacuation plan of the Munich Post Command. At this writing, however, we stand to lose our extraordinarily capable, well trained and completely western-oriented foreign staff.

EUCOM, on its own, has done all that it can but needs a directive from the Department of Defense in Washington to the effect that the RFE staff is to be considered a "war asset" and given a high priority on the evacuation schedule. This priority should include the foreign nationals who have been trained into the RFE effort since without them whatever agency which would take over the RFE staff would be completely lost.

Our investigations, and very considerable work done in the field on this subject, prove that EUCOM is more than willing to take upon itself this additional evacuation burden if so directed by the Department of Defense.

This is a matter of extreme import nce not only to us but to whoever will inherit the task of influencing the satellite areas when and after the Russian armies have moved into western Europe. RFE has proved that it is the Czechs, Hungarians and the Poles who can best do a psychological warfare job. Without their complete participation we would be lost in this "peacetime" effort, and without their future participation whoever inherits our task in time of war would be equally lost.

STRICTLY PRIVATE

STRICTLY PRIVATE

May I therefore request that this matter be given your immediate and urgent attention. So far as we can tell, and we have gone into this subject very exhaustively, all that is needed from this side is a declaration of interest in the entire staff on the part of the Department of Defense.

14-00000

Mr. Hatfield [illegible]

EE-3.

2004K

13 Nov 52

Evacuation Problem

(1) RFE @ 1100 is twice as many people as rest of CPA.

(2) Get break down of employees into various nationalities - at least as to (a) US Nats (b) Exiles + (c) Indigenous Germans -

(3) What about method for issuing passes on D-Day? Will not be sent out ahead -

(4) Will need some sort of priority - what order of departure?

NSC 123

CAs for civilians - [illegible]

Pamphlets cleared w/ US Chiefs

Cy; or State Chiefs of Missions

14-00000

NSC Paper thru Tomorrow –
Reassure Hughes – they are on track –
Get plans up –
Cut down number.

Get Augustine –

7 March '52 – Augustine – Plans Div –
N.S.C. paper has been passed – Directive 123
Take up with EE to have our people included in their Plans –
Coordination is under Plans Div.
EE – Wayne Fredericks or T. Schweyer are the ones to see –
Tell them on who should be included – US, Early + Ger – + they contact the Military

14-00000

Weeks Evaluation 13 Dec

N.S.C Junior Section has accepted paper & its going to Senior Section where no trouble is anticipated -

10 Jan 52 Wayne Fredericks - ~~without fault~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~20 Jan~~

Paper ran into a snag at last NSC meeting & will take 2 to 4 weeks to get back on the agenda - (Not an argu)
Reginald Augustine 3251
knows most about this -

Saw Augustine 10 Jan - He will keep us posted

14-00000

Mil Evac Order (all breaks)

(1) NEO

Noncombatant Evac Order

(2) J(oint) A(lert) O(rder)

Effective at 3AO.
OPC has special passes - red white blue
for Am personnel - conc
officers + everybody with them

Adoption of the Pass - or
the pass itself - ought do -
But - this is in Combatant
Columns -

Everybody in CAO. is concerned with this
problem - Part must be essential people -
unessential - who they had to be there - when

Every consideration should be given to how our functions could be performed further back from frontier

S.P. Phone 28 Nov 51

Evacuation Plans

John Taylor Z+G. - is in Paris - unemployed -

S.P. thinks he would be a good man to plan evacuation procedures - as soon as we get green light on

Curriculum vit of:

JOHN S. TAYLOR, JR.
95 rue de la Faisanderie,
Paris XVI. France
Phone number: TROcadero 08-66

43 North Linwood Avenue
Pittsburgh 5, Pennsylvania

Date and Place of Birth: 28 October 1912, Wilkinsburgh, Pennsylvania
USA Passport No: 453792   Carte d'identite No: AH 62011
Marital Status: Married (no children)
Height: 6'3''   Weight: 210 lbs   Health: Good
Education: Grade School 8 years   College 4 years
High School 4 years   Degree B.A. (Liberal Arts)
The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania

Important Civilian and Military Experience:

Employer: US Army
Position: Entered on Active Duty as Second Lieutenant, Infantry-Reserve
Length of Employment: June 1937 - March 1939

Employer: Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc., Kansas City 6, Missouri
Positions: Traffic and Reservation Sales Representative)
Representative Traffic and Sales) at Pittsburgh, Pa.
Manager, City Office
Length of Employment: May 1939 - February 1941

Employer: US Army
Position: Enetered on Active Duty as First Lieutenant, Infantry-Reserve
Stationed at: New York, N.Y.   Noumea, New Caledonia
Washington, D.C.   Norfolk, Virginia
Honolulu, T.H.   Le Havre, France
Separated from Active Duty as Lt.Col., Transportation Corps-Reserve
Length of Employment: February 1941 - February 1946

Employer: Transcontinental and Western Air Inc., Kansas City 6, Missouri
Positions: Assistant to Traffic Manager, Int'l Division, New York, N.Y.
Assistant to Traffic Manager for France, Paris, France
Length of Employment: February 1946 - August 1946

Employer: US Army
Position: Entered on Active Duty as Lt. Col., Transportation Corps, US Army
Stationed at: Paris, France   Bremerhaven, Germany
Antwerp, Belgium   New York, N.Y.
Cardiff, Wales   Washington, D.C.
Resigned from Active Service with same rank

Other Information:
Speak French moderately well.
Have lived in France a total of three (3) years and am now a resident.
Practically all of my experience in civilian and military life has been office management and direction in outside activities.

References:

Mr. Alexandre de Bondini	Mr. Philippe Hottinguer	Monsieur Jean Monnet
Vice-President, Int'l	Hottinguer et Cie.,	Commissaire General
Automatic Electric Corp.	Banque, 38 rue de Provence	au Plan de Modernisation et d'Equipement
of Chicago, 2 rue Chartran	Paris, IX.	18 rue de Martignac,
Neuilly-sur-Seine	Telephone: TRI 28-84	PARIS VI
Telephone: MAI 76-22		Telephone: INV 75-70

14-00000

25 Jun 52

Mr. Braden:

In collating these 2 reports, I find some slight differences. The only one which seems significant is marked in red * below, but, I've listed some others for your possible convenience. Does point 4 require a mem., or is it carelessly written — or is the method of collaborating understood?

Devine	Braden
1. page 1, line 2 "but in a considerably lower key"	1. not included as an agreed item — committed, instead.
2. page 3, para beginning "Mr. Dulles..." "in close coordination with UOA"	2. page 3, last para page 5, para beginning "Dulles..." "to include the Committee of the Voice"
3. page 3: the points Point 2: "and not last more than 2 weeks"	page 5 Pt 2. "of short duration"
Point 3: "an explanation of USA-RFE relationships	Pts 3 & 4 Pt 3: "including the work of the Voice"
* Point 4: q.v. Different	Pt 5 q.v.

[signature]

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

18 January 1952

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Present were Messrs. Jackson and Washburn of NCFE, Messrs. Barrett, Joyce, Devine, Sargeant and Kohler from State, and Messrs. Dulles, Wisner, Lloyd and Braden from CIA. The meeting was held in Mr. Barrett's office on 17 January at 4:30 pm.

CONCLUSION: That the Crusade for Freedom organization should continue.

The following is a transcript of Mr. Braden's notes of the meeting.

C. D. led off, admitting the frustrations that a long campaign on the Crusade for Freedom caused to the State Department and suggested the following program:

1. A 1-day bell-ringing campaign in all cities.

2. Direct mail to corporations.

At this point, Mr. Washburn interjected to say that he would need about two weeks of "low drums" promotion before the 1-day campaign. Jackson went on to say that under such a scheme there would be no time on the part of the chairman for a build-up of invidious comparisons in the press. At Jackson's request, Mr. Washburn passed around a Crusade publication entitled "The Voice of America - 1951 - A Year of Progress". This brochure, which in four pages praises highly the work of the Voice of America, is to be mailed by the Crusade to its chief contributors.

Mr. Barrett then made the following points:

1. The National Committee for a Free Europe grew out of the idea of helping refugees and of giving them a voice. It has changed over the years to a huge operation with many new ideas, and the Crusade for Freedom came along as a cover necessity.

2. He asked whether the demands of fund-raising had not begun to make less effective the primary job of helping refugees, whether

SECRET

the tail -- Crusade for Freedom -- is not wagging the dog. He remarked that in a conversation with Alan Valentine he had found that Valentine is inclined to agree with him.

3. Against Mr. Washburn and the Crusade for Freedom, he had only one complaint. They were too good, too big-time. They made such an effective appeal that the recipients could not avoid running down the competitor. He stated as his opinion that the Crusade was jeopardizing a multi-million dollar operation -- the Voice of America -- and might even be jeopardizing another multi-million dollar operation -- Radio Free Europe -- for the sake of raising three million dollars.

4. He thought balloons and some other operations done by the Committee were best done by private means.

5. He leaned toward going back to the beginning and looking at the Crusade as purely a cover operation and not an attempt to raise large funds and making a lot of hoopla. He suggested that the Crusade should raise only enough money and make only enough of a campaign to provide a dignified cover. He suggested mail solicitation, magazine advertisements, the publicizing of two or three large anonymous gifts, all without high-pressure. Then he said, "Let's get on with the main job of radio and refugees."

Mr. Dulles asked whether this danger to the Voice was so great. "Didn't you get more money this year?" Barrett's answer was "No" and he pointed out that there was no damage done to the Voice by the Crusade this year insofar as funds were concerned but he feared the future. Dulles asked whether we couldn't work out the timing of the Crusade so that there would be no interference on the hill. Mr. Barrett did not directly answer the question. He said the cover was bad. Too many people already know the truth about the Crusade and he is worried about it. He said it surprised him that it worried him more than it worried Mr. Dulles. A large campaign raises the question, he said, of how all the work is done on such a small amount of money. He thought the Crusade called attention to itself as cover.

Howland Sargeant asked Jackson to answer this question, "Of what various uses are the Crusade?" Jackson listed them as follows:

1. Cover. He agreed with Mr. Barrett that the Crusade both increased and decreased the security danger.

2. It brings in money.

3. It educates and interests Americans in the whole problem of psychological warfare and propaganda and does so more than anything else that is managed by the Government or by private funds. He thought this was greatly important and said that although he

realised that mistakes had been made and the Crusade had criticised the Voice, strategically the Crusade could be of enormous help to the Voice by publicising the need for communicating to people in slavery.

Sargeant thought point 3 was the most important. He asked whether the Crusade couldn't be tied in with this point. Jackson said, "Yes, and we are starting with this issue of the Crusader publicising the Voice." Washburn added that 25 million contributors, counting this year's and last year's contributions, may prevent cutting down the operation as Barrett suggests. They will raise a lot of questions. Barrett disagreed and repeated his suggestion of a one-month operation confined to magazine advertising and direct mail. Jackson asked about the magazine advertising. He said you had to write copy for magazine advertising and the copy would have to advertise Radio Free Europe. Barrett answered, "You can control the copy on magazine ads. There is a lot of time allowed for going over them carefully before they get into print."

Washburn repeated several times that it would be a great shame to let the Crusade go. Jackson said the Crusade gave a real lift to exiles not only here but abroad.

Kohler said he had been thinking about the problem and had two suggestions to make:

1. Could we exhort people to give a dollar to Radio Free Europe and at the same time to write a letter to their Congressmen backing up the Voice of America?

2. Could the Radio Advisory Committee of the Voice of America team up with the Crusade to help with general publicity?

Jackson answered the first question "No". He thought that would be dangerous. To the second question, he said "Yes". He again outlined his idea for a campaign calling for education on a general psychological warfare program with a final request to contribute to the Crusade.

Mr. Dulles again asked Mr. Barrett about his financial problems and the timing of his request to the hill. Barrett said he would have the most difficulty from January to July. Washburn said, "Then we'll run a campaign in September only and there'll be no horn-blowing until then."

Dulles said that he thought that if the Crusade could be limited to September he doubted that it would interfere with Mr. Barrett's fund-raising problems. That, coupled with a better degree of coordination, with the use of Mr. Kohler's private advisers, and with a great effort on the part of the Crusade toward psychological warfare education would give the Voice much invisible support. Sargeant said he agreed

with Mr. Dulles' view of the Crusade giving invisible support and wondered whether we could not make the invisible aspects visible. He thought that to hold the whole Crusade organisation together for a year merely to conduct a two-week campaign would waste many good men's time. Barrett agreed that a two-week campaign wouldn't keep the organisation alive.

Sargeant asked if there were not other ideas which could be fed through the Crusade machinery, thus making more constructive use of it.

Barrett raised the question of internationalizing the Crusade effort. Jackson replied that there was an abortive French project which he thought would shortly fall flat on its face. The British, he thought, would shortly make a final decision as to whether to go ahead with an exile program or not. He seemed dubious that they would decide to do so. He mentioned Jean Paul David and Paix et Liberte as the only foreign operation in this field which had any spark to it. Barrett agreed but asked whether or not some Europeans couldn't be put on the Board of Directors. Dulles replied that this was very difficult, that they couldn't attend meetings for one thing. Barrett said, "Couldn't there be an annual meeting simply as a front, as camouflage?"

Jackson said that NCFE did get involved in European organisations, that they had close affiliations with the European Movement, with the Free Trade Union Committee in Exile, with the International Journalists, with Strasbourg University, and all the radio programs were reaching the point where they were thought of as programs belonging to the people to whom they were broadcast. NCFE had, he thought, internationalized a great deal and in a very natural way. A board of foreign directors would spoil that natural process by setting up an obvious phoney.

Washburn again raised the argument of timing the campaign to take place only in September. There was no direct response to this suggestion.

Sargeant, referring again to the use of the invisible assets mentioned by Dulles, thought that if the Crusade continued it should be planned not primarily to raise funds except as cover. Attention should be focused on:

1. The development of understanding; the battle for the minds of men.

2. Two or three concrete things which private citizens could do in this battle.

Barrett took this up at once and mentioned letter writing. Turning to Washburn he said, "Abbott, put your mind to work." He thought we should be able to find something. He suggested we ask Washburn to look into other projects like the letter-writing campaign that was done for Italy. He mentioned the Common Council for American Unity and Mr. Dulles suggested the Friendship League run by Christian Herter.

Dulles asked for agreement of the group to do the campaign on a modest basis for the month of September only, to keep the organization together, to include the Committee of the Voice, to assure full coordination of all publicity and to work hard on the specific ideas mentioned by Sargeant. Levine asked if such a campaign would not mean playing Radio Free Europe down to, say, fourth place? Jackson said, "No, it would not mean that; Radio Free Europe would simply be one of the themes that was played, sometimes at the top of the ladder and sometimes down the ladder, it would depend."

Barrett again raised the cover problem and his dissatisfaction with the Crusade as cover. Dulles explained that this was a problem that had to be lived with.

Jackson once more attempted to get agreement of the group on the following points:

1. The Crusade to continue.

2. To begin not earlier than September and to be of very short duration.

3. The whole organization to devote itself to education in psychological warfare, including the work of the Voice.

4. To study means of civic action on local and national levels.

5. That everybody agree to this program and work out the details as soon as possible.

Barrett asked first Joyce and then Levine whether they agreed to this program. Both did agree.

Barrett said that he could not commit himself to this program. He said he was leaving shortly and felt that he could not commit the Department of State under these circumstances. He said he would agree on one point only -- that the Crusade should not disband -- but he reiterated his conviction that it ought to be of a much lower pressure than the discussion so far outlined seemed, and he again mentioned magazines and direct mail. Jackson said that it was all very well to tell the group that they were not to disband but he

said the first question the group would then ask is "What shall we do?" He said that question had to be answered. Barrett said, "We have a coordinating committee of Braden and Devine to work this problem out."

There followed some discussion of the balloon project which is the subject of a separate Memorandum for the Record by Mr. Gates Lloyd.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief, International Organizations Branch

PY-CIO:TWB:eh

Orig - DDCI (thru ADPC and DD/P)
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14-00000

TONIC

SECRET

17 January 1962

Dear Mr. Minott:

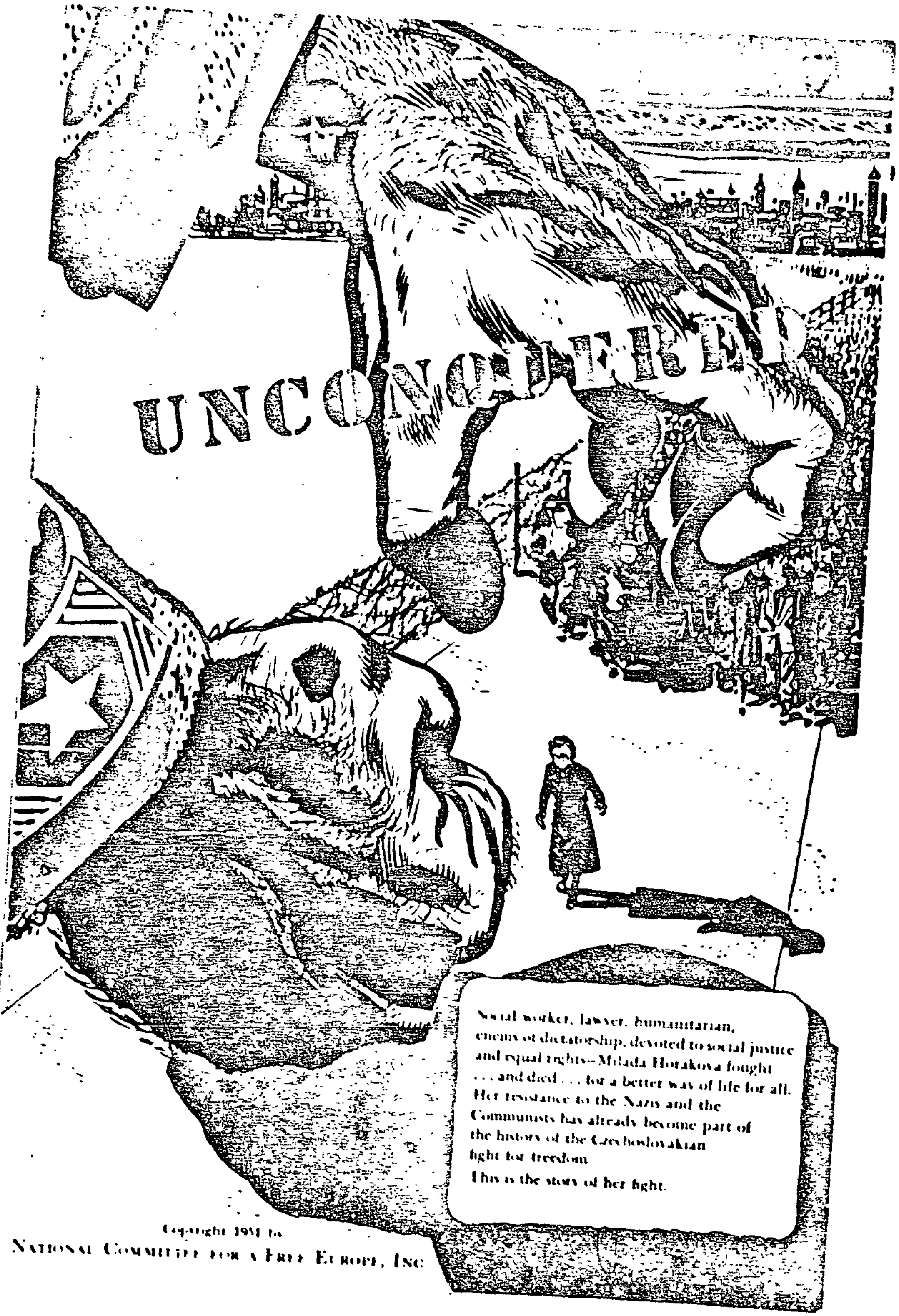
Enclosed please find six copies of pamphlet entitled "Unconquered". As you requested, they are being forwarded to you for delivery to Teclore.

Sincerely,

Frank C. Kilday

JAN 17 1962

SECRET


UNCONQUERED
Social worker, lawyer, humanitarian, enemy of dictatorship, devoted to social justice and equal rights—Milada Horakova fought . . . and died . . . for a better way of life for all. Her resistance to the Nazis and the Communists has already become part of the history of the Czechoslovakian fight for freedom.
This is the story of her fight.

National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.

350 FIFTH AVENUE • ROOM 301 • NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • TELEPHONE BRYANT 9-2100

CABLE ADDRESS: NATFRECOMM

October, 1951

The National Committee for a Free Europe is happy to send you a copy of its illustrated booklet, UNCONQUERED, the story of the outstanding Czechoslovakian patriot, Milada Horakova.

Milada Horakova was unbelievably courageous during her imprisonment under both the Nazi and Russian-dominated Communist dictatorships in Czechoslovakia. She was a true defender of democracy, and sacrificed her life for those principles of liberty which all free men everywhere hold dear.

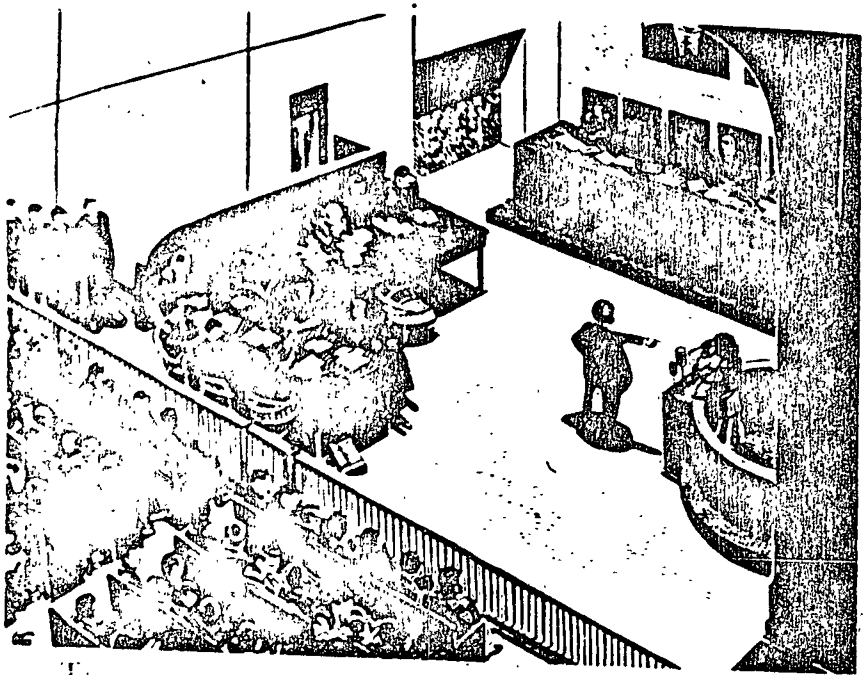
I cannot urge you strongly enough to read UNCONQUERED and learn the story of this brave woman who dared to oppose the Bolshevist conspiracy to destroy democracy in Czechoslovakia.

I ask you to join us in working to preserve peace with freedom for all mankind. If you wish further information about the National Committee, please write me.

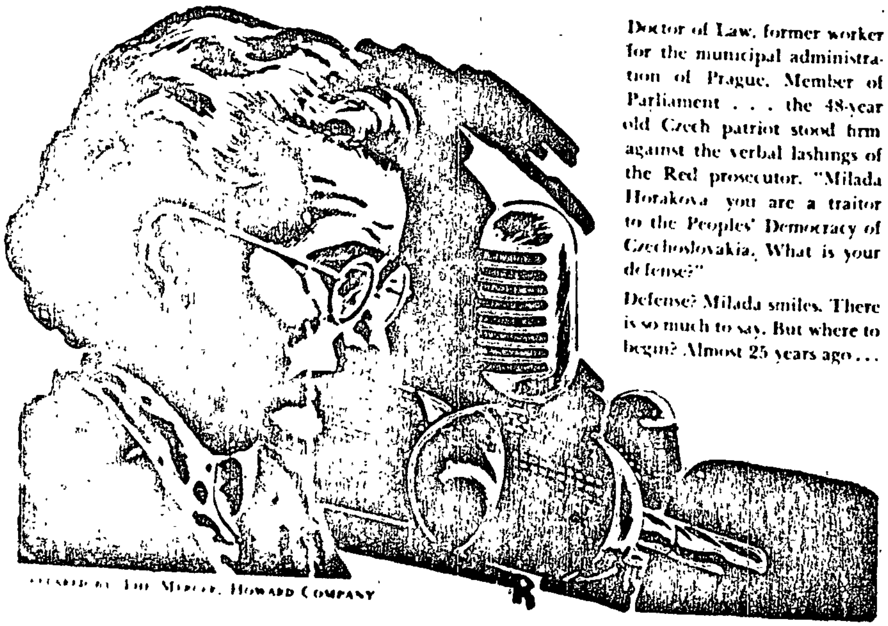
Sincerely yours,

C. D. Jackson
President

Additional copies of UNCONQUERED, while available, are 15¢ per single copy; bulk shipments of 100 copies or more are 12¢ a copy.



T[illegible] courtroom in Prague had a festive air. Jammed with spectators — rare in Communist [illegible] seemed more like a celebration than a monster trial of 13 of Czecho[illegible] freedom-loving patriots. Chief defendant in this mock trial was Milada Horakova. [illegible] the liquidation of Czech democratic leaders by the Communist regime.



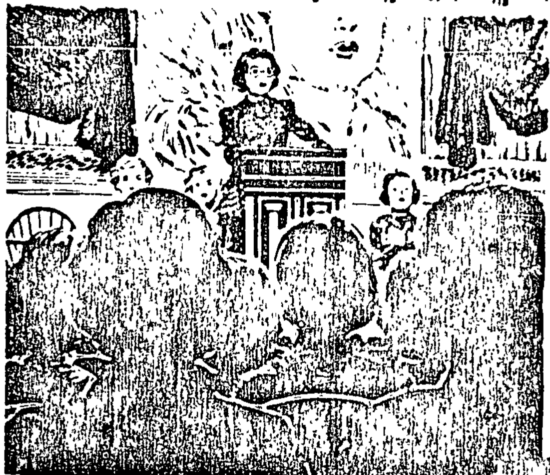
[illegible] Howard Company

Doctor of Law, former worker for the municipal administration of Prague, Member of Parliament . . . the 48-year old Czech patriot stood firm against the verbal lashings of the Red prosecutor. "Milada Horakova, you are a traitor to the Peoples' Democracy of Czechoslovakia. What is your defense?"

Defense? Milada smiles. There is so much to say. But where to begin? Almost 25 years ago . . .

Though graduated with a Law degree, Milada Horakova's love for people brought her to head the Children's Bureau of the Public Welfare Department in Prague. Here she established a system of foster homes and proper adoption procedure. Her legal training assisted her in solving juvenile delinquency and the establishment and administration of homes and hospitals for orphans and mentally retarded children.

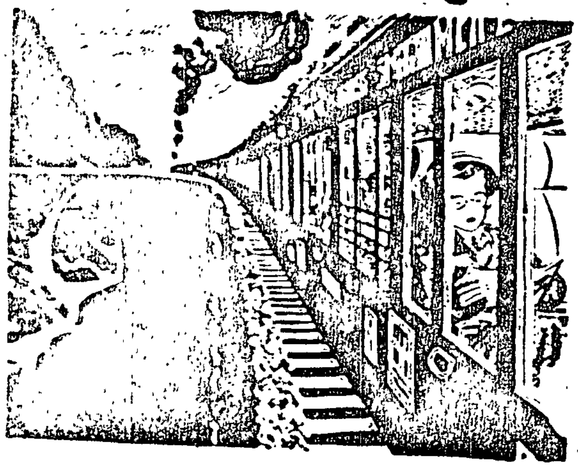




Her fight for freedom and social justice found expression through the National Council of Women. Happily at work in social welfare and the Council, she devoted her energies towards helping others.

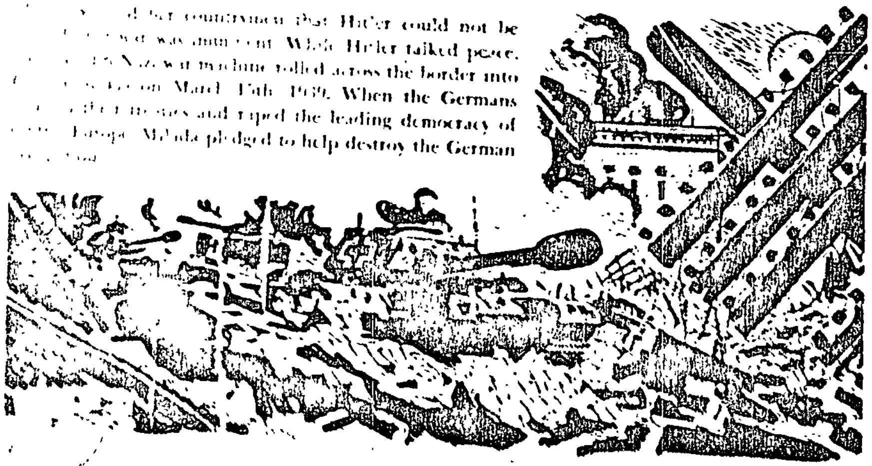


During the next 15 years, Milada worked tirelessly in the preparation of important legislation for the Czechoslovak Parliament. She worked on the laws regulating the work day to 8 hours, suppressing prostitution, protecting home workers, restricting child labor . . . and much other social legislation.



Executive Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council of Women, she was a member of the International Women's Organization, too. She travelled to many countries representing the Czechoslovakian women. And thus she foresaw the threat of the Hitler dictatorship's greed and power.

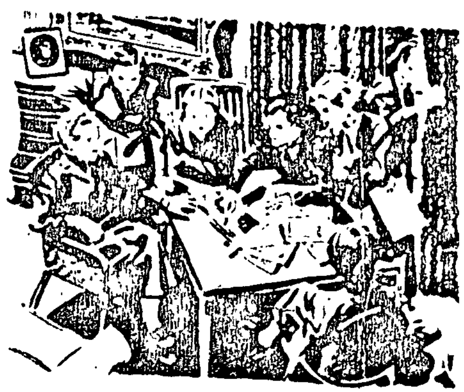
[illegible] her countrymen that Hitler could not be [illegible] was imminent. While Hitler talked peace, [illegible] Nazi war machine rolled across the border into [illegible] on March 15th 1939. When the Germans [illegible] and raped the leading democracy of [illegible] Europe, Milada pledged to help destroy the German [illegible]

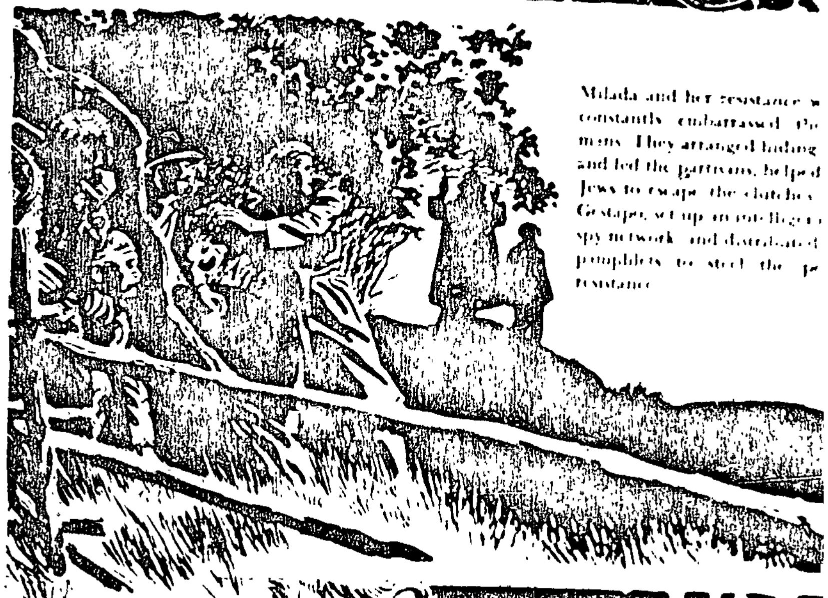


[illegible] organized the Women's [illegible] Movement. Popular with [illegible] social welfare groups, [illegible] Horakova was known and [illegible]. Thus she was able to recruit [illegible] underground army of former [illegible] social workers to fight the Nazi aggression.



She organized an underground that baffled the Germans. Instead of large meetings, she set up a chain of small groups. Only the head of each group knew the other members. These group heads would meet in different homes or in a doctor's office. Thus, when the Gestapo arrested a woman underground worker, they would be unable to make a mass arrest.





Milada and her resistance [illegible] constantly embarrassed the [illegible] They arranged hiding and fed the partisans, helped Jews to escape the clutches [illegible] Gestapo, set up an intelligence spy network and distributed pamphlets to steel the [illegible] resistance.

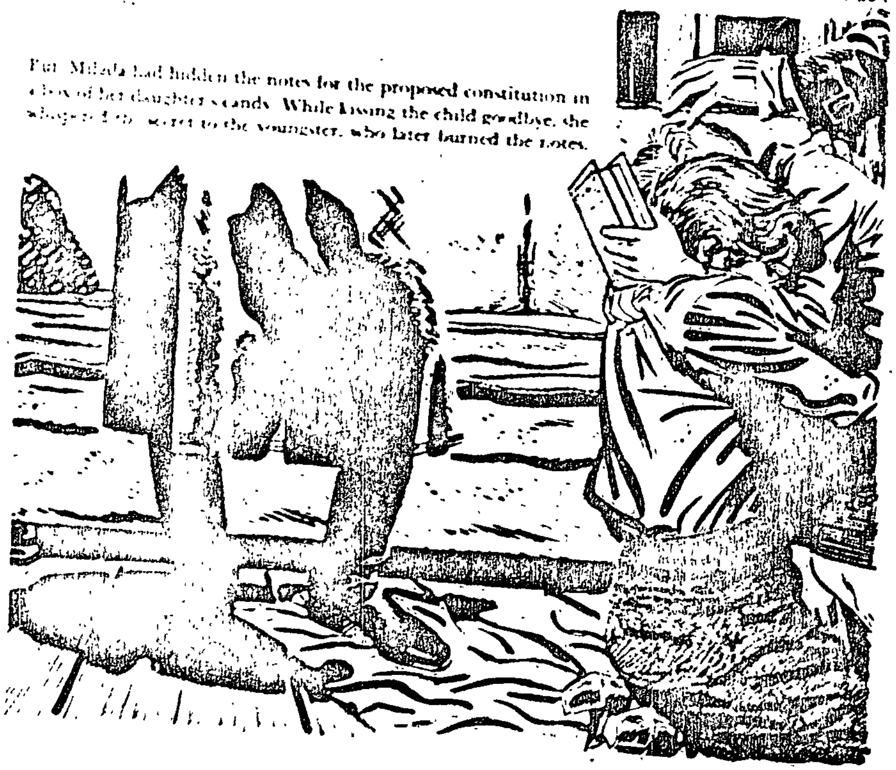
At the same time, Milada helped to write a new constitution to be used when the Nazis were destroyed. She was in constant contact, via secret radio, with the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London. Thus she transmitted the progress of her work on the post-war constitution.



The Nazis had long wanted to arrest Milada. Having learned of her work on the new constitution for a liberated Czechoslovakia, they hoped to catch her with this evidence. One afternoon three Gestapo agents burst into her country home and arrested her and her husband.



But Milada had hidden the notes for the proposed constitution in a box of her daughter's candy. While kissing the child goodbye, she whispered the secret to the youngster, who later burned the notes.

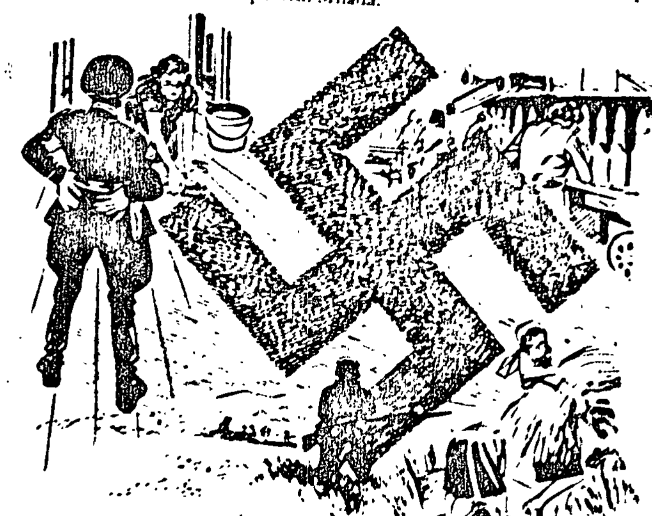


Milada and her husband were separated, and she was taken to the Gestapo's investigations center, Petchek Palace. Here, even brave men broke under the ruthless questioning. But, though she was questioned often, she was not frightened. Her answers — all lies — seemed so logical to the Gestapo, that she did not betray even one of her co-workers in the resistance.





For 15 months the Gestapo questioned her, shipped her from one prison to another. Never once did she give them the slightest shred of evidence. Not until 1941, when Hitler's armies defeated France and arrested some of her escaped co-workers, did they associate the escape with Milada.

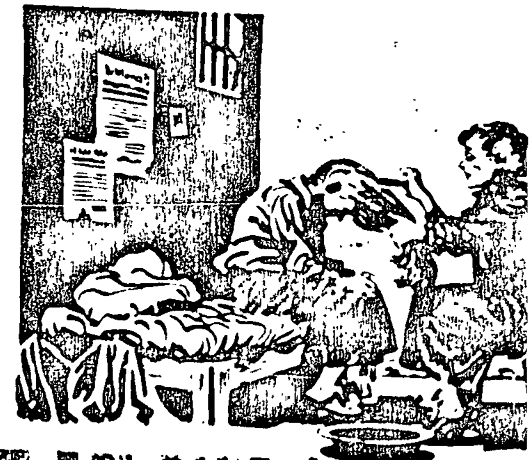


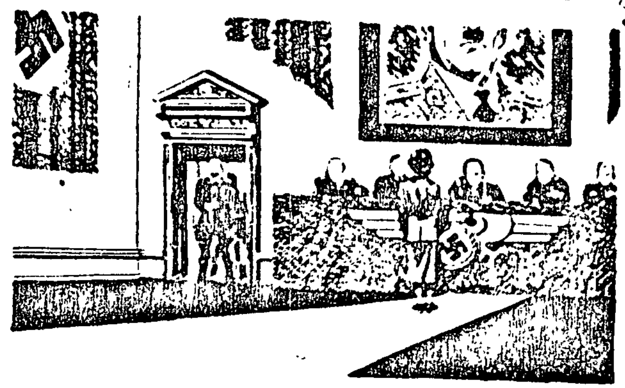
Though forced to wo munition factory und ground, labor in m mosquito-infested f and clean house for th tapo . . . Milada never plained. Her ready was a constant anno to the Nazis. Her opti and hope was a sour encouragement for he low prisoners.

[illegible] prison at Terezin, she spent 16 months in solitary confinement, another 6 months in [illegible]. Never permitted to get fresh air, scarred by her chains, gnawed by [illegible] than [illegible] of soup and water . . Milada, nevertheless refused to knuckle under [illegible]



The many months in solitary confinement shattered Milada's health. But, when finally released to the prison proper, without regard for her own safety she bathed and cared for sick, elderly prisoners. Her unconquerable spirit was a shining example for other less stalwart prisoners to carry on.





Finally, brought to Dr[illegible] to stand trial before [illegible] man court, she faced [illegible] death penalty. But [illegible] eloquent appeal [illegible] Germans' fear of [illegible] her a martyr [illegible] sentence of hard labor.



After a year in the German concentration camp she was freed by the victorious American [illegible] When leaving to return to Czechoslovakia, Milada pledged herself to continue the struggle [illegible] human rights and social welfare, and to help those who suffered under the Nazis.



Returning home after 5 horrible years of prisons and concentration camps and torture chambers . . . Milada was joyously reunited with her invalided husband and grown daughter. Both had miraculously lived through the German tyranny.

"I believe in freedom and equality for all. Does that make me a traitor?" A whisper runs through the crowd watching the trial. Milada Horakova now has stood up to the Communists, the new masters of Czechoslovakia.





The Communist prosecutor is in a rage. He knows that Milada has bested him. Furiously he screams, "You are a traitor to the Peoples' Democracy of Czechoslovakia."

"I will prove that Milada Horakova was paid by the capitalists; a spy for the Western powers; a warmonger; bombardment of Prague was her aim; she wanted death for women and children; she wanted the Germans to rule Czechoslovakia." There were many other ridiculous charges. The trial continues . . .

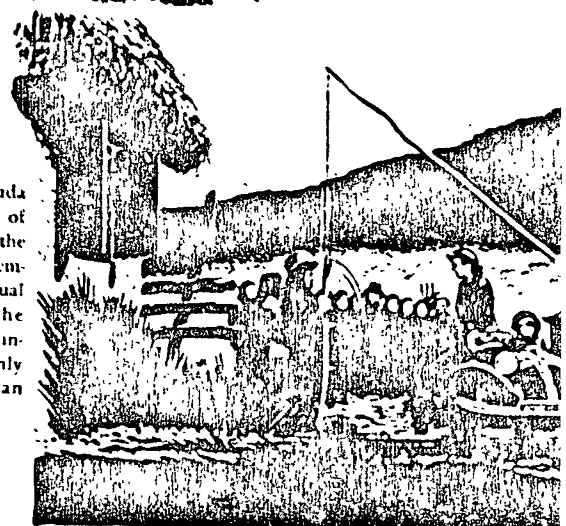
Apprehensive of Czechoslovakia's newwon freedom and to guard against another imperialistic power's conquest of her country, Milada successfully ran for Parliament. After organizing a fund for political prisoners, she introduced a bill providing pensions for the families of Nazi victims.



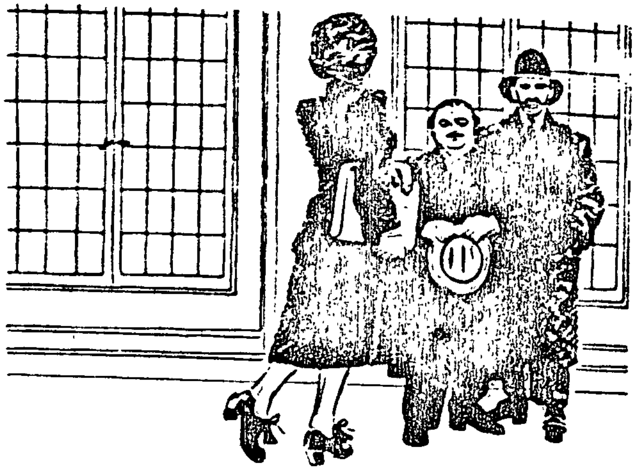


She told her friends that a new ... loved Czechoslovakia ... Russian Communism was infiltrating into the government and though they made ... tive promises to workers and ... intended to "take over" ... tually destroy the rights of free ...

Running for reelection, Milada campaigned on a platform of freedom of press, freedom of the right to work, freedom of assembly, and all other individual freedoms. She warned the people of the treachery of Stalinists . . . who are motivated only by the interests of Russian imperialism.

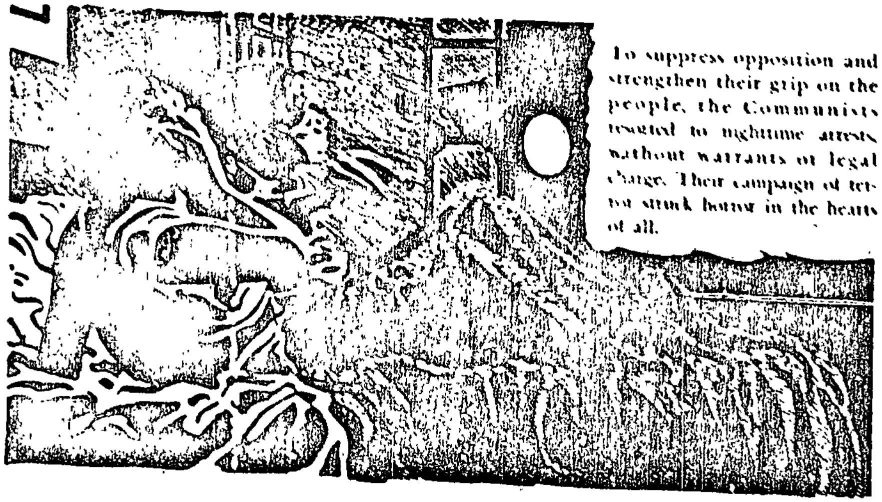


The Communists realized ... the people had for Milada Horakova. And so ... approached her, asking her to join them in ... social welfare ... Seeing through ... trickery, she refused.



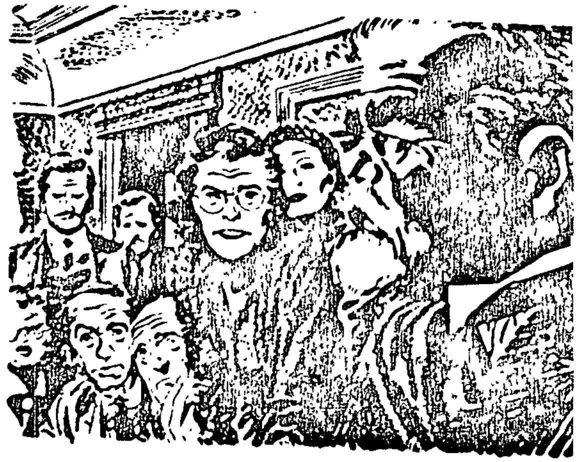


... infiltrated into the cabinet, and after gaining control of important labor unions as well as the police and Army, the Communists staged a coup. In February of 1948, with the threat of the nearby Soviet Army, they successfully overthrew the democratic government in Czechoslovakia. For the second time in less than a decade, the Czechoslovaks lost their freedom.



To suppress opposition and strengthen their grip on the people, the Communists resorted to nighttime arrests without warrants or legal charge. Their campaign of terror struck horror in the hearts of all.

Those in Parliament who had fought for human rights and social welfare were appalled by the new regime's tactics. They asked Milada for advice. She replied, "I have resigned. I shall not give in. I have chosen a straight path, and this I shall follow."





Returning to a subordinate job in the Social Services in Prague, Milada nevertheless continued to fight the Communists. At every opportunity she talked ... people compared the "People's Democracy" with ... Germans, found no difference in their drive ... world power. Both forms of dictatorship deceitfully hide behind slogans of peace ... and prepare war.



When she refused to compromise, the Communists marked her as their #1 enemy. Though friends warned her to flee the country, Milada refused to leave. Her telephone conversations were listened to. Her servant was actually a spy. She was threatened and arrested.



Since they were unable to get evidence against her, the Communist Secret Police brutally tortured an innocent man, forced him to sign a "confession" which would implicate Milada Horakova.

One afternoon, the Secret Police arrested Milada, brought her to their headquarters, questioned her increasingly for 36 hours. Though they refused her food and water, she would not relent on her plea of innocence. Finally she was doped, and coerced into a false confession of guilt.



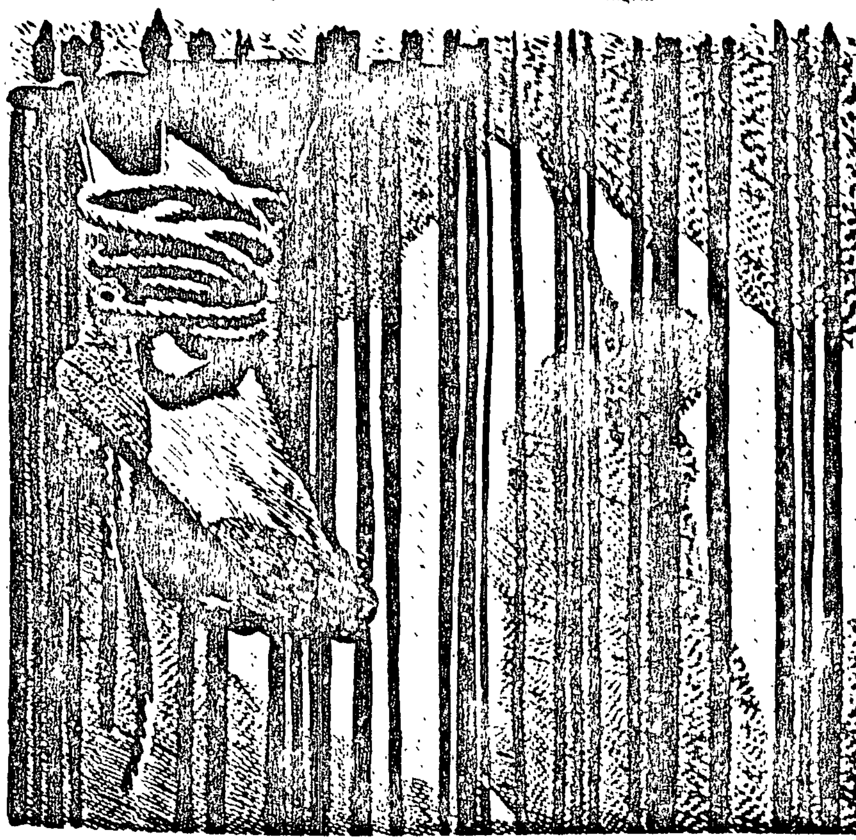


Now, after six months in prison — beaten and tortured — Milada bravely faces the Communists. Fearlessly, she concludes, "I oppose the so-called Peoples' Democracy in the Czechoslovak Republic, for I hold that it not be democratic. I have worked against it. Should the miracle occur and the court find me not guilty and I be released, I should work against it anew."

The "fixed" judges sentenced her to death. All Czechoslovakia is horrified. A wave of revulsion sweeps the free world. Protest meetings are held and petitions directed even to Stalin.



The Communists did what the Nazis never dared to do. On June 27th, 1950 Milada Horakova was hanged.



14-00000

THAT THIS WORLD UNDER GOD SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC., is a group of private citizens who have drawn together to carry out concrete and direct action to restore and strengthen man's most valued possession—freedom.

The Committee has as its active allies numerous exiled democratic leaders who have found haven in the United States from the Communist tyranny of Eastern Europe. Radio Free Europe, of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is setting up facilities that will enable these trusted patriots to be heard again by their own people. Not only does Eastern Europe hear the exiles' impressions of the United States, but American messages of hope and encouragement are transmitted, and, above all, the truth which totalitarian governments forbid their enslaved peoples to hear.

Freedom or the enslavement of men's minds and souls, is the vital issue. What shall we pass on to our children—their rightful heritage of freedom, or the spiritual devastation of Communism? At this very moment the kind of world they will inherit hangs in the balance. The issue is for you to decide. In the vital conflict for the preservation of freedom, the National Committee for a Free Europe offers every single citizen the opportunity to throw in his weight.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.

301 Empire State Building

350 Fifth Avenue

New York 1, N. Y.

#10

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

January 25, 1952

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. F. R. Dolbeare
Mr. J. F. Leich

From: R. J. Moore

SUBJECT: Report of meeting at State Department, Wednesday, January 23, 1952.

PRESENT: Miss Mary Augustine representing Mr. J. F. Leich in his absence.
Mr. Harold C. Vedeler
Mr. Gates Lloyd
Mr. John Campbell
Mr. Robert Lang, Radio Free Europe, New York
Mr. Charpentier
Mr. Robert J. Moore

CZECHOSLOVAK AFFAIRS

Miss Augustine reported that the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia, composed of 17 and 13 persons respectively, had signed an agreement in New York City on January 15, 1952, which bear the signatures of Messrs. Heidrich, Klimek, Lettrich, and Zenkl.

(Copy of this agreement is herewith attached).

Miss Augustine advised that Mr. Klimek had represented Mr. Papanek in signing the agreement. The agreement, Miss Augustine pointed out, sets up a provisional management of Czechoslovak affairs consisting of two administrators - one from each group. Mr. Heidrich represents the 17 of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, and Mr. Papanek will represent the 13 of the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia. The provisional management also consists of a body of 24 persons - 12 from each side and which, Miss Augustine reported, might be called a "caretaker body".

Miss Augustine also presented another document which is a protest of the Council's 17 against the Committee's 13, insisting on the exclusion of Dr. Osusky from any major function. However, at a subsequent meeting of NCFE's Subcommittee with representatives of both groups, Mr. Zenkl categorically advised that he and the Committee of 13 had no question whatsoever over the

JAN ... 1952

inclusion of Dr. Cousky, or any other person, as one of the 12 representatives of the National Council, who, together with the 12 representatives of the National Committee are to carry on the discussions leading to the formation of a permanent body to represent Czechoslovak exiles.

Further, Dr. Zenkl stated that when a final program had been agreed to, in his opinion, the only bar to holding any office in a unified organization would be the unwillingness of any individual to accept the over-all program to which the agreement had been accorded through democratic procedure. Apparently, he also advised that he considered this policy to apply to himself as well as to any others. Agreement was accorded on this point by the representatives of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia.

Miss Augustine also presented the rules which have been adopted for the discharge of the administration of Czechoslovakian affairs in exile. She called the attention of the meeting particularly to Items #3 and #5 of these rules wherein it is stated that:

3) The Council and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia make available to the provisional administrators the requisite financial resources.

5) The provisional administrators deposit the funds made available to them in a joint account which they handle jointly and prior to the cessation of the provisional administration, they shall jointly account for the use of said funds.

After the meeting Miss Augustine made available the following two lists of 12 persons, from each group, in accordance with the final agreement for the provisional administration:

Papanek
Zenkl
Ripka
Kocvara
Blaho
Dieska,
Tusek (middle class)
Taair (National democrat)
Peierabend
Klimek
Firt
Taborsky

Busma
Cerny
Franek
Heidrich
Lettrich
Major
Horak
Cousky
Prochazka
Silva
Peroutka
Slavik

At this time, Miss Augustine advised, the Czechoslovaks are still meeting in separate groups, but that the merger is expected to take place very shortly. She further advised that Mr. Zenkl had announced his Committee's indebtedness to the tune of 2 to $3,000; whereupon Mr. Vedeler advised that he had received no confirmation of the allegation that the Zenkl Committee had disposition of independent funds in Switzerland.

Miss Augustine advised that NCFE's Subcommittee will continue in existence, and that it will be available for advice and assistance to the Czechoslovak provisional administrators, and the body of 24.

Miss Augustine also advised that the new financial arrangements were left to the decision of NCFE's Subcommittee, and that no new move in this regard would be made by the Subcommittee until an accounting of all funds had been given, and that financial aid will be allocated on the merits of the case at that time.

Mr. Vedeler raised the question of the individual stipends, and the meeting was informed that unless there is some further change of policy, these stipends are continuing and will continue as in the past.

The meeting was informed that the so-called Czechoslovak Middle Class party representatives have been excluded from the provisional body of 24, and advised that the exile leader, Mr. [illegible], was likely to raise a good deal of noise about the whole thing. Miss Augustine suggested that, as a member of the Knights of Malta, he was more or less expected to stir up the whole hierarchy.

Mr. Moore raised the issue as to the duration of the provisional agreement, and questioned as to whether any time limit had been set within which the administrators and the body of 24 would settle their differences and establish a permanent organization. Miss Augustine replied that it was

the opinion of the National Council's division that this issue should not be forced at this time, but rather developments would be allowed to crystalize, and that we should wait to see what actual progress is made.

RUMANIAN AFFAIRS:

Miss Augustine reported that Messrs. Gafencu and Visoianu had met and had retained earlier views on the type of organization to be established for the representation of Rumanian affairs in exile; their agreement appears not to be within the realm of possibility at the present time. Miss Augustine also made known to the meeting the contents of a letter written by Mr. Gafencu to one of his friends in which he charged that Mr. Visoianu desired only one political and national body which should represent the Rumanian cause abroad, and that this body should be the present National Committee, under Mr. Visoianu's presidency. Mr. Gafencu's letter also advised that Mr. Visoianu is opposed to a large National Council, although he would agree to setup special commissions composed of persons outside the Committee. Mr. Gafencu on the other hand claims that he seeks an organization in exile within a wide framework, which would have a representative character, and be headed by an elected chairman. Mr. Gafencu indicated that he was not opposed to the King's cause and that, in fact, he wished to see the Royal question intimately bound to that of the whole exile community. Gafencu charged that Visoianu and his group, by negotiating only on the basis of the King's approval, instead of reaching agreement prior to the King's approval, invited criticism not only of themselves, but places the King's position in jeopardy.

Miss Augustine herself also advised that the meeting of January 23 between Visoianu and Gafencu was such as Gafencu had indicated; i.e., with regard to the chairmanship, Radescu would be the honorary chairman, Visoianu the chairman, and perhaps Gafencu the vice-chairman. Visoianu had also offered

unification of the two groups on a 7 to 5 basis - the 7 coming from Visoianu's Rumanian National Committee. No reference was made of the funds which had been one of the main bones of contention in the split.

Miss Augustine advised of a meeting between Mr. C. D. Jackson and General Radescu in which, among other things, the General complained that he was being excluded from Rumanian discussions in NCFE circles, and questioned the advisability of sending Visoianu to London along with Gafencu. Radescu claims that his Free Rumanian League is having great success. The General was informed that the invitation to go abroad to Visoianu and Gafencu had emanated f from the European Movement Conference itself, and that, in NCFE conversations with representatives of Rumanian groups, there had never been any question of eliminating Radescu. The importance of unity among exiles was pointed out to Radescu, and he was informed that something had to be done about the situation of the Rumanians-in-Exile.

Miss Augustine advised the meeting that due to circumstances, Visoianu and Gafencu had found themselves scheduled to fly on the same plane to London; Gafencu had protested this arrangement bitterly, on the grounds that Visoianu would represent this situation as one in which he (Visoianu) had been able to bring Gafencu along, on the former's insistence.

Mr. Campbell raised the question as to what can be done about this. He pointed out that in this Rumanian split Visoianu considers that his friends are in the State Department, and goes to State for advice and support, whereas Gafencu sends in letters to State, but carries his cause to NCFE in New York, where he believes his friends to be.

Mr. Lloyd interjected that he considers some very stringent action must be done about this whole Rumanian situation, and that unity somehow must be achieved. He suggested that with the coming into office of Admiral Miller

as the new President of NCFE, it might be the time to take up the matter again with a new personality fresh on the scene, and that in such a way it could conceivably be possible to get over the hump of the present deplorable situation. Mr. Campbell assented thereto.

BALTIC AFFAIRS:

Mr. Vedeler advised the meeting that the original decision regarding the future of the Baltic broadcasts must stand, and that it was out of the question that we should become involved in any further proposals regarding RFE broadcasts to that area. This was explained to Mr. Lang, who has had some definite reservations on RFE broadcasts to the Baltic countries.

Mr. Vedeler pointed out that he considered the Baltic panels, however, must be maintained and that to proceed now with the dissolution of these panels would have a most serious effect on our Baltic friends.

Mr. Campbell raised the question as to what should be told the Baltic diplomats, and what had already been told them. After tossing this subject around for some time it was agreed that the Balts would be told simply that the Voice of America is going to accept full responsibility for broadcasts to their country, and very simply that RFE had agreed that this is the way it should be done.

POLISH AFFAIRS:

Miss Augustine advised that Mr. Leich would shortly be back from Europe, and could be able to report first-hand to the meeting of developments at the Polish conference in England. She advised that the Polish Socialists had adopted a broad resolution wherein the principal of cooperation with the Polish Political Council was accomplished, and wherein the door had been left open to work with Mikolajczyk.

Miss Augustine advised that Mr. Loraki had, contrary to the original plan, finally been sent to the Conference of the Polish Political Council.

BULGARIA:

Finally, it was agreed that if Mr. [illegible]'s reorganization plan of the Bulgarian National Council was ready, it would be presented at the next meeting.

TRADE UNIONS:

Miss Augustine reviewed in the following terms, the situation of the Socialist Parties and Trade Unions-in-Exile and the Christian Democratic parties of the Trade Unions-in Exile; and advised of the ambiguities in this situation. She indicated that in this present situation;

1. There are in existence;

a) On the Socialist Side;

(1) The political-party organization:
the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe.

(2) The professional-trade union organization:
the International Center of Free Trade Unionists-in-Exile.

and that

b) On the Christian Democratic Side there are:

(1) The political party organization:
the Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe.

(2) The professional-trade union organization:
the Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

She pointed out that

2. NCFE gives financial support and "recognition" to the Socialists on the professional and trade union level through the International Center of Free Trade Unionists in Exile and has done so since September 1951. NCFE gives financial support and "recognition" to the Christian Democratic element on the political-party level through the Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe which it has supported since January, 1951

Miss Augustine advised that

3. so far as she knows the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe (founded in June, 1951) has never approached NCFE for support and for recognition. In October 1951 the Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions was formed and soon after approached NCFE for support.

4. Prior to this approach, and just prior to his departure for Europe, Leon Dennen, who is NCFE's representative of labor and trade union affairs , and who is in Paris where he has responsibility for the International Center of Free Trade Unionists in Exile, stated that it was his impression that the Polish Christian Trade Unions were the only Christian Trade Unions of any prewar significance in the countries now behind the Iron Curtain and that if further investigation justified this view, he thought modest support ought to be extended abroad to the Polish Christian Trade Unions. He admitted to little knowledge of Christian Trade Unions.

That the Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions is composed of exiles residing in the United States or Canada and not abroad, which throws another monkey wrench into the situation. At time of the approach to NCFE of the Christian Trade Union Federation their representative was told of Dennen's existence and his existence abroad, and of his need for statistics, information, and of Dennen's initial view that support should be abroad and not here. No statistics were forthcoming, but Sieniewics (Secretary-General of the Christian Democratic) was active, apparently stirring up American Catholic circles by harping on the theme that NCFE allowed Socialists to monopolize trade union field.

(Sieniewicz)

Miss Augustine advised that we do know he approached George Donahue of American Catholic Trade Unions (who else, if anyone we do not know), and that he apparently stirred Donahue up quite a bit, but Donahue contacted Ed. McHale, on the Crusade, who managed to save the situation. Sieniewics apparently

remembered the effect on NCFE of attacks from certain Catholic circles. NCFE was at one time in bad situation vis-a-vis hierarchy.

Miss Augustine summed up Mr. Dennen's views in his letter of December 28, 1951, as follows:

a) We should aid Polish Christian Trade Unions, but not Central European Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

1. Another Christian Democratic Exile Trade Union international is already recognized by International Federation of Christian Refugee Exiled Workers, not Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

2. Question of basic policy contends probably no Christian Trade Unions of any significance (except Polish) in Eastern European countries prior to Soviet occupation. Mr. Dennen raised the question of why help refugees establish organizations-in-exile which have no counterparts in their own countries.

3. Another Polish Exile Christian Trade Union group (Feliks Mikolajczyk) recognized by CFTC (French approval of JCCTU).

##

COPY

The delegation of the Council and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia, aware of the great importance for the Czechoslovak cause of a united political leadership of the Czechoslovak democratic exile, have discussed in a number of meetings a complex of political and organisational matters and have agreed unanimously on the following:

1) the statutory organs of the Council and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia respectively will suspend all their activities by January 15, 1952;

2) effective the same day, a provisional two-member management of the affairs of the unified Czechoslovak democratic exile will be established;

3) simultaneously, a body will be set up with the duty to discuss and prepare, on the basis of the results of deliberations between the two delegations, the formulation of the political program and the organisation of the unified Czechoslovak democratic exile. The said body will be composed of an equal number of representatives of the Council and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia respectively;

4) the function of the delegations of the Council and the National Committee of Free Czechoslovakia respectively will cease with the establishment of the provisional management of the unified Czechoslovak democratic exile.

New York, N.Y., January [illegible], 1952

Signed by: Heidrich, Lettrich,
Klimek, Zenkl

CONFI NTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATI

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

S/P. Mr. Joyce

A-58

DATE: January 25, 1952

SUBJECT: Question of RFE Broadcasts to the Baltic Countries

PARTICIPANTS: Lithuanian Minister Povilas Zadeikis
Mr. Anatol Dinbergs, First Secretary of the Latvian Legation
Mr. Harold C. Vedeler - EE
Mr. Willard Allan - EE

COPIES TO:
P - Mr. Sargeant
Mr. Devine
OIB/NY - Mr. Kohler
S/P - Mr. Joyce ✓
EE - Mr. Barbour

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—61130-1

In accordance with the conclusions reached at the meeting of Messrs. Kohler, Devine and Vedeler on January 18, an effort had been made earlier this week to call in the Lithuanian Minister and the Latvian Chargé d'Affaires at the same time. Since the illness of the latter prevented, it was finally necessary to have the First Secretary of the Latvian Legation to come rather than Mr. Feldmans.

It was explained that the visitors had been asked to come to the Department so that the matter of Baltic language broadcasts might be discussed in response to their recent notes (Lithuanian note No. 2433 dated December 31, 1951; Latvian note unnumbered dated January 3, 1952, and Estonian note No. 772 dated January 8, 1952) and oral representations on this subject. Mr. Vedeler said that the problem had been reconsidered from every standpoint by all officers with a direct interest in it and the various points raised by the Baltic diplomatic representatives had been carefully studied. As a result of this review the Department could see no other course but to reaffirm its previous position. The Department therefore had reached the definite conclusion that in the interests of the most efficacious overall effort so far as broadcasting to the Baltic countries with which Americans were connected was concerned, it should be confined to a single operation in VOA. The reasons for this conclusion were reviewed and the painstaking efforts of the

Department

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

JAN 29 1952

Department to proceed fairly and in the best interests of the common struggle against Communism in the Baltic countries were stressed. It was indicated that since the NCFE had asked the Department for its opinion on the advisability of proceeding with plans for RFE broadcasts, the Department had conveyed these views to NCFE. It was our understanding that NCFE had also come to this conclusion.

Minister Zadeikis expressed his regrets and those of the Baltic Panels that this was the decision reached. He was still concerned that the Baltic exile leaders would have no opportunity to speak to their homelands and that this denial in view of the availability of RFE facilities to exiles of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe represented a change in US policy toward the Baltic states. Mr. Vedeler strongly emphasized that our policy toward the Baltic countries remained unchanged and that no political significance whatsoever could justly be read into the Department's desire to see the Baltic language programs carried only by VOA in the endeavor to make the broadcasting activities for the Baltic countries as forceful and effective as possible. It was suggested (in accordance with the possibilities pointed out by Mr. Kohler in the meeting on January 18) that there would be opportunities for Baltic exile leaders to speak over VOA.

Minister Zadeikis asked what provision had been made or might be made for the employment of persons already engaged for RFE radio work and for the use of radio material already prepared by the Baltic Panels. In response to direct questions it was suggested that probably something could be done to take care of these matters through discussions between NCFE and VOA representatives in New York. The question of cooperation between VOA and exile leaders and between VOA and the Baltic Panels was discussed at some length. VOA's sincere desire to receive and make use of helpful comments and suggestions, to the extent that these might fit into the planned programs, was reiterated. It was agreed that these various questions could best be pursued further if the Baltic representatives took them up directly with the VOA in New York.

A letter has also been sent to Mr. Kiev, Acting Consul General in Charge of Legation at New York, informing him of our wish to discuss this matter on the next occasion when he comes to Washington.

EUR:EE:HCVedeler/ml
January 28, 1952

SECRET

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FROM:	NO.	DATE
PY-CIO		31 January 1952

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS
1. EE - Mr. Poor			13 Feb	HP
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8. PY-CIO				TWB
9.				
10.				
11.				
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COMMENTS

Henry:

You will remember that, as Gates Lloyd points out in his transmittal slip that Lang agreed to the use of facilities.

I take it that somebody didn't do a very good job of explaining to the Executive Committee of NCFE precisely what was wanted, and you may wish to be certain that a little preparatory work is done by McClury or others before a formal request is made.

Will you send the enclosures back to me.

Tom

TWB

Tom -

Returned per our 'phone talk today. Unless I hear to the contrary, I will assume that our Russian Committee is free to proceed as agreed with the use of the Lampertheim site and other RFE facilities as individually negotiated, always short of use of similar pre- [illegible] -

Henry

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

29 Jan 52
DATE

TO: T. W. Braden

BUILDING | ROOM NO

REMARKS: Re # 2 - Amcomfree -
Bob Lang agreed with H. Poor
in my presence that Amcomfree could
have R.F.E.'s 10KW station at
Lampertheim, no longer useful to
R.F.E. — or could use some other
RFE transmitter provided the frequency
was changed & RFE not identified
with Amcom. Perhaps H. Poor should
see this —

FROM: JBK

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

14-00000

SECRET
Security Information

ER-2-5236

24 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director (Plans)

FROM : Deputy Director Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : N.C.F.E.

1. I attach a letter I have just received from John Hughes, Chairman of the Executive Committee of N.C.F.E., with regard to certain decisions of the Executive Committee which he felt were of interest to their sponsors.

2. After you have read this, will you kindly pass it on to Gates Lloyd and Tom Braden?

ALLEN W. DULLES

Attachment (1) Letter to Mr. Dulles
from John Hughes dtd 18 Jan 52
(2 pages)

SECRET
Security Information

14-00000

January 18, 1952

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
P. O. Box 1513
Main Post Office
Washington, D. C.

Dear Allen:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of N.C.F.E. held on January 3rd last, the members felt that two of the subjects discussed at that time should be called to your attention so that you might know the views of the Committee in the event these matters were brought before you at a later date.

The first concerns a suggestion which apparently came informally from McCluny and others in Amcomfree, that if means could be found to do so, they be allowed to use some of the R.F.E. facilities in Germany for certain of their broadcasts. Since this matter was not brought up as a formal request, no action was taken by the Committee, but the individual members unanimously expressed the opinion that this would be most inadvisable and that they would be opposed to the use of R.F.E. facilities for this purpose even if time and frequencies were available, which is not at all certain. Since Amcomfree is an organization in which you have direct interest it seems advisable to acquaint you with our feelings in the matter should you or your organization be approached by McCluny or others on this subject. Without going into details at this time as to the reasons for our feeling in the matter, our main concern is that Amcomfree's targets are entirely different from those in which we are interested, and from the standpoint of operation from German soil they are far less likely to be agreeable to BONN. We are fearful of putting in jeopardy a presently successful operation and four to five million dollars of equipment by the introduction of a project which we feel should be kept separate and apart.

The other matter which came up for formal action involved the advisability of undertaking Polish programing in Germany, and the Executive Committee unanimously agreed that R.F.E. should proceed with the plans presented. In brief, such plans call for the origination of from three to four hours daily of Polish programing from Munich beginning on or about May 1, 1952, and the introduction of some 50 to 60 Poles into the city of Munich for work with R.F.E. to carry out this schedule.

Since this is a major step in the development of R.F.E. programing and more particularly because of the forthcoming negotiations between representatives of N.C.F.E., HICOG, and BONN, it was felt that you should be formally advised of this decision. The Executive Committee also wanted to go on record to the effect that while they realized the risks involved, affirmative action was taken as a result of opinions given by Messrs. Byroade, Kellermann and Strauss of the German Desk, Department of State, and by Messrs. Stone, Lewis and Boerner of HICOG. In answer to the specific question "Would in your judgement the introduction of Polish broadcasting with all of its

Mr. Allen W. Dulles (continued)

political implications, in any way harm the current Munich operation of R.F.E. or the BONN contract negotiations in the eyes of the BONN government", we were assured by all that it would not.

For your further information, the operating officers of R.F.E. in charge of the project for this Polish programing, have been directed to proceed slowly in implementing the action of the Executive Committee and watch the situation most carefully until such time as Phenix and Kempner have had time to receive proper assurances that negotiations with BONN will progress satisfactorily.

Sincerely,

John C. Hughes

JCH:PM

14-00000

SECRET
Security Information

Executive Registry
2-5272

24 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Chief, PI/OPC

FROM : Deputy Director Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : CRUSADE budget

Please see attached letter from Abbott Washburn with his attached budget. I imagine that the Project Review Committee should go over the figures for the balance of the fiscal year and for 1952-1953 as soon as possible.

ALLEN W. DULLES

Attachment (1 w/1 attachment)

Budget included with Staff Study 3/21/52

14-00000

January 23, 1952

Dear Allen:

At the Crusade Board Meeting last Friday, C.D. reported in detail on our meeting in Ed Barrett's office.

This was followed by a general discussion of the nature and scope of the 1952 Crusade program. Briefly, there was agreement that the program in 1952 should be considerably reduced in scope, that the emphasis should be taken off publicity and placed on fund-raising with the promotional period being reduced from two months to two or three weeks. It was felt that a direct mail campaign to our present list of givers -- plus a thorough solicitation of corporations -- would be desirable.

There was discussion also of a one-night house-to-house canvass, nation-wide, on Constitution Day next September. Mr. Poole suggested that, in addition to Radio Free Europe, the 1952 Crusade might place emphasis on the newly formed Free Europe University in Exile at Strasbourg, France. General Clay recommended that the Advertising Council's assistance in the new campaign be sought at the earliest moment.

I have reported the above to John Damewood -- also your instructions on the submission of a budget.

$450,000 was the estimated figure which we mentioned to you as adequate to cover the entire operation. After careful study and all possible paring, the total budget submitted herewith amounts to $488,991 . . . this to be spread over the eleven remaining months of 1952.

Of this total, $222,270 would fall in the present fiscal year (5 months at $44,454 per month).

The total budgeted figure is slightly more than a quarter of the cost of the 1951 campaign. With the ground work that has been laid during the past two drives, it should realize at least as much as the campaign just completed, although this, of course, is difficult to estimate.

We have had further talks with the VOA people, and the "Crusader" supplement devoted to the Voice will appear next week. They seemed very pleased about it.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

[signature]

14-00000

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DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
Meeting to Discuss the Crusade for Freedom held in Mr. Barrett's office 17 Jan 52	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. Dept. of State — 4. DATE 21 Jan. 52
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM — 8. DATE OF INFO. — 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST — 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN — 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

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FORM 9-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

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2-5-7-2

January 21, 1952

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

Dear C.D.:

Following up our meeting, we are going to name John Devine to represent us in discussing further plans for the Crusade of Freedom.

As I understand it, all parties feel that the Crusade should be continued, that the next campaign should be of a low-pressure and short duration type, and that joint efforts will be made to find other useful activities that the Crusaders can perform for the total U.S. propaganda effort.

It was good seeing you the other night, and both Mason and I enjoyed that long talk. Please remember me to Min Miller and tell him I wish him the best in his difficult but fascinating assignment.

All the best to you.

Cordially,

cc: Mr. Wisner
P - Mr. Devine
S/P - Mr. Joyce

Edward W. Barrett

P.S. As I understand it, it is tentatively proposed that the two individuals working with John Devine will be Jim Lambie and Tom Braden.

Mr. C.D. Jackson,
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.,
350 Fifth Avenue - Room 301,
New York 1, New York.

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

P:EWBarrett:sbv

14-00000

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NO.

DATE: 10A [illegible]

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1. W3	Knott			SB / JK	
2. EE/S		MAR . 1952		AG	
3. EE-2		MAR 3 - 1952			
4. EE/1S				MR	Baldridge
5. EE/PW				LB	Albania Bulgaria Rumania Yugoslavia
6. SE/PC		11 MAR 1952			
7. Py/U					Braitweiser NH
8. Py/Bol					NOTE: ID/CD does not retain this document on file. Any interest in retention should be noted on this routing and it will be returned to you.
9. Py/Bul				M.W.B.	
10. Py/10					Lacking request for return, THIS DOCUMENT IS TO BE DESTROYED BY THE LAST NAMED RECIPIENT.
11. U in Exile File (Drew)					→ suggest 20 (NSV) retain this in file - NH
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14.					
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FORM 51-9 FREE RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED
(Classification)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

840.../11-1551
XR 740.00

FROM AmConsulate, Strasbourg. 136 DESP. NO. November 15, 1951 DATE

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. AIR POUCH PRIORITY

692312

REF None.

25 For Dept. Use Only

SUBJECT Founding of "Le Collège de l'Europe Libre" at Strasbourg by the National Committee for a Free Europe.

R NOV 19 C D ACTION EUR
A C T I O N INFO DCR OLI IR UNA USUN
I N F Cadel- Paris

As the Department is aware, the National Committee for a Free Europe has founded at the Château de Pourtalès, Strasbourg Robertsau, "Le Collège de l'Europe Libre" (College of Free Europe) in which students of nine different nationalities, all of them from the Satellite countries, are lodged and fed. All of the students are taking courses in the University of Strasbourg and in future there will be additional courses at the "Collège de l'Europe Libre" conducted by professors-in-exile in the languages of the various countries represented. The purpose of the College is to train political leaders, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., for service in the Satellite countries when and if these countries are ever liberated from Soviet Russian domination. So far there are no students from Russia or East Germany in the College.

On November 12 Mr. Roudybush and I attended the opening ceremony of the College, which was informal but impressive; other persons attending included Mr. C. D. Jackson, President of the National Committee for a Free Europe, three officials of the Council of Europe, Professor Robert Redslob, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Strasbourg (representing the Rector of the University, who was ill), personnel from Radio Free Europe at Munich, and the student body. Speeches were made by Mr. Malcolm Davis, Dean of the College, Monsieur Redslob, and Mr. C. D. Jackson.

There follow tables showing the distribution of the students by nationalities and by ages, as of October 20, 1951, (8 men and 1 woman students have been enrolled since then, but their nationalities and ages are not known):

Nationality	Men	Women	Total
Czechoslovak	20	2	22
Polish	14	5	19
Rumanian	13	1	14
Yugoslav	11	2	13
Hungarian	7	0	7
Lithuanian	3	1	4
Bulgarian	4	0	4
Albanian	2	0	2
Latvian	2	0	2
Totals	76	11	87

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TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

PRIORITY

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SUBJECT:

R E C D

A C T I O N

I N F O

2 Strasbourg 136

Age	Men	Women	Total
18	2	1	3
19	0	0	0
20	2	2	4
21	3	1	4
22	8	0	8
23	5	0	5
24	6	0	6
25	9	3	12
26	8	0	8
27	12	1	13
28	11	2	13
29	4	0	4
30	3	1	4
31	3	0	3
Totals	76	11	87
Average Age	25.5	24.3	

As of possible interest there are enclosed copies of the first two pages of the interim report of the Committee on Awards and Placements to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, The Free Europe University in Exile, New York, N. Y., which was furnished to me confidentially by Mr. Malcolm Davis.

George D. Andrews
American Consul

Enclosure: As Stated

Distribution:
AmEmbassy, Paris

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For Dept. Use Only

RECD ACTION INFO

Enclosure to despatch 136 from American Consul, Strasbourg, 11/15/51 - p. 1

COPY

Paris, October 29, 1951

To the Chairman of the Board of Trustees,
The Free Europe University in Exile,
New York, N. Y.

Interim Report of the Committee on Awards and Placements

The Committee, having sent out 3530 application forms to individuals and organizations, first examined applications duly completed by candidates for Strasbourg and set aside those, out of 626 received, that had been filed by persons who turned out to be ineligible, e.g. as being over 32 years of age (with a few exceptions), or already having university degrees and needing to finish elsewhere, or wishing to study a subject not taught at Strasbourg, or not possessing qualifications required by the university, or not knowing enough French to profit by the Strasbourg university courses, or not having refugee status. Candidatures which appeared eligible were then shared out between the members of the Committee for personal interview, mostly in Paris, visits however being made for this purpose to England, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and Switzerland.

With applications and notes on interviews before it, the Committee then held numerous meetings, at which the cases of all eligible candidates were examined and discussed. Mr. Royall Tyler, as President of the Association for the College of Free Europe, also attended most of the meetings held by the Committee and assisted it by his advice. The records showed that a high percentage of the candidates, and especially some of the more promising ones, did not wish primarily to go to Strasbourg but hoped instead to obtain scholarships enabling them to remain in Paris (in most cases), or at some other university. Certain problems arising in this connection will be dealt with below, together with recommendations.

Selections for Strasbourg

To date, 87 candidates wishing to go to Strasbourg have been accepted: 76 men and 11 women. (Note: 8 additional men and 1 woman have been enrolled,

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RECD ACTION INFO

Enclosure to despatch 136 from American Consul, Strasbourg, 11/15/51 - p. 2

making a total, as of Nov. 12, 1951, of 84 men and 12 women). Notification of non-acceptance is being sent to 349 candidates. The Committee has had in mind the advance estimate that five women were to be accepted for Strasbourg, and that five theological students might be accepted for the College des Clercs. However, only one theological student has qualified for a scholarship and suitable arrangements can be made to lodge as many as 10 or 11 women, possibly even 13, (Note: total accepted 12, as of Nov. 12), either in the Student Home for Girls or in a pension (for the older girls). In view of the quality of these women candidates, the Committee feels justified in selecting a number larger than that originally contemplated, and after consultation with Mr. DeWitt Peale and Mr. Royall Tyler does so unanimously.

The grand total of male students already accepted for Strasbourg, and accordingly notified, is thus 76 to date, as against 100 originally contemplated. The Committee has thought it preferable to maintain a high quality, rather than to make filling a quota the first consideration, especially as applications are still coming in and some promising applicants remain to be seen. Since the French university year begins only in the first week of November, a good many students were away when the application forms were sent out and their addresses unknown to anyone who could be reached. Arrangement can be made to enter late-comers for the Strasbourg university courses, and so it seems wise to allow for the probability that some high-quality candidates will still appear, none of whom could be accepted if the quota had been filled up in a hurry regardless of the advisability of maintaining a standard. Applicants can be received and registered in the university as late as Nov. 21.

It is of interest to note that all candidates so far submitted to deans of faculties at Strasbourg have been considered acceptable.

LCS REPORTER(S) RESTRICTED PREPARATION FILE

INFORMATION COPY

17 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)

SUBJECT: Plans for Enlargement of the Free University in Exile

REFERENCE: Letter from Royal Tyler to DDCI of 15 December 1951

1. At a meeting at the DDCI's house, Washington, D. C., on Sunday morning, 13 January 1952, Mr. Royal Tyler discussed with Messrs. A. W. Dulles, R. Oates Lloyd and Thomas W. Braden, the present plans of the Trustees of the FUIE as presented at their meeting in New York last week.

2. Regarding the administration of the University, Mr. Tyler reported that Mr. Dewitt C. Poole's resignation effective 31 March 1952 had been formally accepted by the Trustees and Dr. Levering Tyson had been elected Vice President with full executive powers as of the present. Dr. Malcolm Davis has not, according to Dr. Tyson, proved an effective administrator and has been relieved of all non-academic duties as well as membership on the Awards Committee.

3. Regarding the future expansion of the University which Mr. Tyler had reviewed at some length in the referenced letter, the Trustees gave conditional approval to doubling the number of students during the academic year of 1952-53. There are now 83 male students living at the chateau and 13 women boarding outside. In addition, 31 students have been awarded scholarships at other universities. Dr. Tyson estimates that approximately 1/3 of the 96 students at Robertsau will leave at the end of this academic year for various reasons, and the Trustees expect to recruit about 35 students to restore the number in residence to approximately 100. In addition, if money is obtained for the necessary temporary housing, they propose to recruit an additional 100, making 200 in residence at Robertsau. They also suggest increasing the scholarship appointments at other institutions to a total of 50.

4. Any such program would involve a capital outlay of $250,000 on a 100-bed dormitory and necessary study hall or auditorium. Mr. Tyler understood that the present kitchen and other facilities will serve a total of 200 residents.

5. Mr. Tyler

14-00000

5. Mr. Tyler expressed concern, in which those present concurred, that the University was making plans for expansion without having definite information regarding the number of acceptable students who would be available in future years. Of the several hundred applicants who were rejected last year, there were few, if any, who would have been admitted under any circumstances. It was agreed that a survey should immediately be made to determine with as much accuracy as possible how many students can be expected to be available for the University in the next few years. It was recommended that Dr. Tyson get in touch with Mr. Lawrence Dawson of the Department of State regarding the number and academic caliber of escapees currently coming through the Iron Curtain.

6. It was understood that Dr. Tyson would forward to Washington in the near future detailed estimates covering:

a. Capital outlay required for the proposed expansion.

b. The operating budget of 1952-53 on the basis of 200 students.

(In this connection, it should be noted that Mr. C. P. Jackson has just returned from a trip to visit the officials of the Ford Foundation which he made for the purpose of proposing that the Foundation take over the FUIE. The Foundation is giving this serious consideration but Mr. Jackson was reported unwilling to estimate how successful his trip had been.)

7. Mr. Tyler urged that a decision be reached with regard to capital improvement at Robertsau by the first of February. If delayed beyond that date, the University will be at the mercy of French contractors working on an emergency schedule to meet the opening date for the expanded University next Fall.

8. However, before any conclusions can be arrived at, it would appear most essential to carry out the survey of available candidates referred to in paragraph 5. above. Furthermore, Dr. Tyson is arranging to bring his detailed plans to Washington on 22 January, after which it will be possible to make a more detailed report as to the costs involved. At this meeting, the point raised by DD/P regarding the increased dangers of penetration by Communists will be discussed.

H. GATES LLOYD
Deputy Chief
Psychological Staff Division

DCPY/HGL:ml

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SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
Meeting at Mr. Barrett's Home on Thurs. Nov. 20, 1951 to discuss USIE & OPC Relationships	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

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FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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... ...RMATION

17 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. John Devine
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation of Meeting at Mr. Barrett's Home on November 20, 1951 to discuss USIE and OPC Relationships

1. Your memorandum of conversation of November 20, 1951, was mentioned to me by Mr. Dulles this morning with particular reference to paragraph 2 of the conclusions.

2. Mr. Dulles does not believe that the meeting was quite so definite on this point as you indicate, and I suggest, therefore, an amendment as follows:

"2. That possibilities for toning down the Crusade for Freedom to a somewhat less high-pressure and spectacular campaign be carefully explored by all concerned."

THOMAS W. BRADEN

PY-CIO:TWB:eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - DD/DD/P (Mr. Hulick)
1 cc - PY/IS
1 cc - PY
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

#6

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

SECRET

January 16, 1952

SUBJECT: Report on Slavik-Majer Conference as outlined by Miss Mary Augustine at January 9, 1952 meeting with State.

From: R.J. Moore

Miss Augustine advised that the Slavik-Majer Conference had been placed on the Agenda, as a result of Mr. Vedeler's comment (made at a meeting during December, 1951) to the effect that it would be desirable to give encouragement and moral support to the Slavik-Majer group.

Miss Augustine explained that Nagy had received some encouragement from NCFE when (during January 1952) he initially broached his plan for the establishing of an over-all international grouping of exiles from Central and Eastern Europe. However, when it became clear to NCFE that Nagy's group was to be formed on exclusively political party lines, and would be dominated by Agrarian (Peasant) Party leaders and thus, in effect, a duplication of the International Peasant Union and other such organizations already in existence who are already receiving NCFE support, that it could not, therefore, be broadly representative. NCFE, therefore, indicated to Nagy that it could not provide financial support for an organization set upon such a basis. Nagy's reaction to NCFE's policy was consequently strong and critical.

At about this same time the Slavik-Majer group (now known as the Central and Eastern European Conference) began to emerge and to become active. It was composed officially of the so-called "bureaucrats", "diplomats", and "nonpartisan personalities" which were so despised by Nagy and his colleagues from the Agrarian parties and other political party leaders who took their cue from the Peasant Party politicians. This new group began actually to meet and to perform genuine work.

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JAN [illegible]

Apparently, as the result of the emergence of the Slavik-Major Conference, as an embryo but functioning body, the Nagy group sprang into action, and leaving the planning and organizational stage behind, launched itself firmly into a big press conference and much fanfare. This Nagy group, just to confuse an already confusing situation further, is known as the Central-Eastern European Committee, Miss Augustine advised.

NCFE was disquieted by this almost simultaneous emergence of two potentially competing organizations and made it clear to both groups that financial support was out of the question until a merger or some clear and acceptable agreement between the two groups, which would bar their competing with each other, should be effected. The Slavik-Major Conference, Miss Augustine indicated, agreed to seek no large amount of publicity for a time in order that the unfortunate and undesirable aspect of competition might be played down as much as possible in the hope that a merger or acceptable agreement might be forthcoming.

After its initial plunge into the publicity spotlight, the Nagy Committee seemed to become completely quiescent, while the Slavik-Major Conference became increasingly active, performing some genuinely useful work.

Miss Augustine informed the meeting that NCFE had paid for the booklet on deportations, entitled "Human Freedom is Being Enslaved", and that Frank Wright, NCFE Press Officer, having spoken in Paris with Chester Williams of the U.S. Mission to the U.N., who urged that this booklet and its exposition of the subject of deportations be given as much publicity as possible in the minority press of the U.S., especially the N press, the labor press, and the press of other nationality groups thru Central-Eastern European, so that this would be given the aspect of a broadly-begun

protest, not merely the protest of a few Central and Eastern European exiles. In this way members of our U.S. Mission would be enabled to cite before the U.N. Assembly the protest which deportations have elicited from the U.S. minority press, quoting articles, etc., which have more of a propaganda impact than the booklet itself.

Originally, Miss Augustine pointed out, the Slavik-Major Conference had approached NCFE with a proposal that NCFE arrange and finance a luncheon or a dinner to which various representatives of influential American organizations, labor, church, educational, etc., would be invited, and at which the exiles would have an opportunity to present the facts and their views regarding deportations. NCFE had at first agreed to this, in principle, Miss Augustine advised, but in view of the probable recriminations from the Nagy group (which would, in fact, have some basis of justification) and also in view of the propaganda approach suggested by Williams, the Committee had dropped this idea and was working instead along the lines suggested by the U.S. Mission.

Miss Augustine added that in the absence of a merger, or an agreement, regarding division of fields of competition (the Nagy Committee, concentrating on long-range planning and post-liberation problems; the Slavik-Major Conference focusing its efforts upon the immediate problems confronting exiles in the pre-liberation period) NCFE had steered clear of providing financial support on any continuing basis.

Mr. Barbour inquired as to the prospects for merger, and whether it had been made clear to all exile groups involved that the withholding of NCFE support was predicated upon the lack of any unified and broadly representative grouping.

Miss Augustine advised of two recent conversations she had had with Sidzikauskas, and said that when pressed by him for the reason why the luncheon plan had been dropped, she had at first tried to put this on a practical basis and on Mr. Wright's Paris conversations and the consequent change of tactics. However, when pressed further, and told by Sidzikauskas of the rumors of drastic changes of NCFE policy, etc., which would attend the abandonment of this plan, Miss Augustine advised that gentleman unofficially that, along with the practical reasons, we had been motivated by a desire to avoid the inevitable recriminations from Nagy, and that the lack of a merger or satisfactory agreement between the two groupings would continue to prevent our material support of their activities on any consistent or permanent basis. Miss Augustine added that very recently Sidzikauskas had informed her briefly of a meeting of the Nagy Committee held within the last few days. This meeting was attended by, among others, Visoianu, Sidzikauskas and Orasky, who have sat on the fence between these two groups and have attended the meetings of both groups. Sidzikauskas believes that agreement to divide fields of competition, rather than a merger, is shaping up.

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SECURITY INFORMATION

In reply refer to W-1771
S
11 January 1952

Mr. C. D. Jackson
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.
110 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear C. D.:

As promised at our last meeting, here is the text for a new paragraph 3 of the Minutes of the Meeting Held in Washington on 14 December 1951. This was dictated by Oliver E. Hadwood.

"3. Jackson advised that he had a tentative date to call on the Ford Foundation people in Pasadena on January 8th. Braden advised that it would be appropriate at that time to make a strong pitch on the Iron Curtain refugee problem with the idea that the government was tackling this problem but needed substantial help from private agencies, and that if Ford would give a sizable sum to NCFE, which it in turn could farm out to IRC, it would help to get the ball rolling on a major psychological warfare problem. Braden stressed that private initiative was extremely important that if a private agency acted now, it would speed up the governmental machinery. He also said that the maximum estimated governmental contribution toward this problem was not expected to be more than half the cost.

"Braden also advised that IRC had agreed with David Martin for Martin to step down from his post as Executive Director and that the Committee was considering the appointment of a well-known university president to assume the job. He said that Martin had agreed to step out of the picture altogether if the Committee wished him to do so but that in any case his role from now on would be minor.

"It was also agreed that this discussion of refugees and IRC could include the plan worked up by Berle and Dolbeare to turn over to IRC NCFE "non-productive exiles at a cost to NCFE of approximately $1,000 a head."

Sincerely yours,

John L. Danewood

SECRET

DCPY/HOL:ml
Distribution:
Addressee - Original; DCPY - 1; PY/FXA - 1; PY/GTO - 1; RY - 1

SECRET

3.

TONIC

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

January 10, 1952

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. F. R. Dolbeare
Mr. J. F. Leich

From: R.J. Moore

SUBJECT: Report of meeting at State Department, Wednesday, January 9, 1952.

PRESENT: Miss Mary Augustine, Mr. Gates Lloyd, Mr. Walworth Barbour, Mr. Harold C. Vedeler, Mr. John Campbell, Mr. Thomas [illegible], Mr. Robert J. Moore.

NOTE: Miss Mary Augustine represented the New York office at the meeting in the absence of Mr. John F. Leich, who is in Europe attending the European Movement Conference.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It was recalled that at the meeting on December 26, 1951, discussion of the Czechoslovak problem had ended on a note of optimism. Miss Augustine advised that this optimism had been obliterated due to certain unfortunate circumstances which had developed in negotiations between the Czechoslovak Council majority of 17 and the Zenkl minority of 13. Miss Augustine indicated that one of the principal stumbling blocks in the Czech situation is the question of the co-equal chairmanship in the new setup of two persons, one appointed from each group. She further advised that a body of 20 persons divided equally between the two opposing groups would act as an ad hoc committee to establish a new Czechoslovak National Council, and that, whereas the 13 wished to appoint Mr. Zenkl as one of the two chairmen, they had at the same time expressed their opinion that Mr. Osusky would not be acceptable to them as the other co-chairman, or indeed, that he should not exercise any major function. Such an ultimatum appeared unacceptable to the 17 who contended that negotiations could not be carried on under these circumstances.

Upon receipt of this news, Miss Augustine pointed out, Mr. Dolbeare of NCFE advised the Czechoslovak delegation that he would place the whole problem before the Board of Directors of NCFE. This was done, and a

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subcommittee was appointed to examine the situation; this committee is composed of Mr. F. R. Dolbeare, Dr. Levering Tyson and Mr. Frank Altschul. The subcommittee was informed by the Board of Directors that, should the Czechoslovaks fail to overcome their differences by the end of January, all payments to the Czechoslovak National Council would cease as of that time. The Board had agreed, however, that a credit of $25,000, appropriated to the Council, would remain with it and could be used for support during the course of the following month. It was considered that these funds would act as a hedge against other outside funds to which Dr. Zenkl appears to have access.

The subcommittee met on January 8 with Messrs. Lettrich, Heidrich and Osusky, at which time the principle of the co-equal chairmanship appears to have been dropped in favor of a system of referees, including Messrs. Papanek and Heidrich - one from each group. Miss Augustine advised that the subcommittee was to meet on January 10 with Dr. Zenkl and company, and on Friday with the delegation from both groups. Miss Augustine advised that of the three members of the subcommittee only Mr. Altschul appeared to carry any optimism as to the outcome of the negotiations. Miss Augustine informed the meeting of Mr. Dolbeare's opinion that, should negotiations fail:

a) all financial ties would cease with organised Czechoslovak exile groups,

b) NCFE would be obliged to select individuals as advisers in various functional capacities.

Miss Augustine made reference to a 12-page Czechoslovak memorandum which had recently been presented on the whole situation of Czechoslovakia, past and present. She advised that Messrs. Osusky and Papanek had not signed the document and that NCFE's analysis of the memorandum had been unfavorable.

Mr. Vedeler interjected that should current negotiations fail some consideration should be given to allotting financial aid to both the

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Czechoslovak groups in the controversy.

Mr. Barbour interposed that should the negotiations indeed fail, and we be faced with a Czechoslovak situation in which there would be no Czechoslovak Council, the whole situation of the National Councils and NCFE might well need to be reviewed. He pointed out that the NCFE was based very much on the National Council idea, and that it is constituted to work on this basis. Therefore, should this concept fail, it might be expedient to have a system of some kind of national panel whose members would be appointed by NCFE to work on the problems of their respective nationalities (presumably within the dictates and needs of American foreign policy). Mr. Barbour advised that such persons would have to be chosen on the basis of their ability to work together, thus avoiding the issues of political strife and partisan interests.

Mr. Moore suggested that the meeting might wish to consider the procedure which should immediately follow in the wake of the possible breakdown of Czechoslovak negotiations.

Mr. Lloyd proposed that the matter be referred to Washington for consideration by his office and the State Department before the Czechoslovaks were formally advised of the drastic action contemplated by NCFE's Board of Directors and the subcommittee. There was general agreement that this should be the case.

BALTIC BROADCASTS:

Miss Augustine reviewed the situation of the Baltic panels in New York as regards broadcasts by Radio Free Europe. She advised that the Baltic countries would be represented at the European Movement Conference by heads of the New York Baltic panels, and specifically - Messrs. Massens, Sidzikauskas and Wahter - and that thus funds had been found to carry out the original plan of sending a representative from each Baltic country to the Movement Conference.

Mr. Vedeler indicated that he considered this move to be fortunate and appropriate, in view of the upheaval which has occurred in the matter of the Baltic broadcasts. He indicated his belief that if NCFE is to continue, it is necessary that some form of Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Baltic countries be considered. He advised that the Baltic countries considered there had been discrimination against them, and they feel that it is only through RFE broadcasts that they can really speak to their own people; he advised that he considered the general situation most regrettable.

Miss Augustine indicated that in New York there was considerable hope that once the Baltic broadcast question was straightened out, such situations be avoided in the future, as it has been most embarrassing to all concerned, and has placed the good faith of NCFE towards the Balts in jeopardy.

Mr. Barbour advised that we must consider the Baltic broadcasts to be currently ruled out. However, he advised further that the matter will be taken up on the basis of the formal protests lodged with the State Department by the Baltic diplomatic Missions in this country. He inferred that the whole situation had become confused due to the unfortunate light in which the Voice of America broadcasts had been thrown, as a result of Radio Free Europe's activities. He made reference to the Crusade for Freedom on behalf of Radio Free Europe, and indicated that the Crusade in this instance had done a great deal to stir up the public's mind in favor of RFE, to the discredit of the Voice of America. Finally, he advised, however, that the merits of the case for broadcasts to Baltic countries by RFE would be reconsidered.

RUMANIA:

Miss Augustine advised that there was not a great deal to report on the Rumanian situation, but that Mr. Gafencu had received advice that Mr. Visoianu would meet with him prior to the latter's departure to attend the

European Movement Conference. It was hoped that the meeting would actually take place, but that assurances could not be forthcoming. However, it seemed reasonable that Mr. Visoianu might make the move before going to London where he would have further consultations with the King. Messrs. Visoianu and Cafencu were reported to have come to some basic agreements for the purpose of reaching an understanding between the two factions. Advice was given that General Radescu would be brought into the consultations eventually.

Mr. Moore advised of the opinion held by the National Council division of NCFE that the Rumanians should avoid bringing the King into the negotiations, and rather that an agreement in the form of a fait accompli should be presented to the King for his approval.

Mr. Campbell interjected that he had an appointment at that time with Mr. Visoianu, and that in the light of this information, he would advise that gentleman not to try to pull "any contemplated schemes which might disrupt the efforts so far taken". Mr. Barbour requested that Mr. Visoianu be informed, in strong terms, to avoid further intrigue or unnecessary protracted discussions. In other words "read him the riot act".

HUNGARIAN AFFAIRS:

Miss Augustine advised the meeting that it had been necessary to make some drastic changes among the Hungarian personnel working for Radio Free Europe in New York, as their output was considered to be inadequate. She advised that efforts were being made to reestablish the Hungarian desk on a more effective basis.

BULGARIAN AFFAIRS:

Miss Augustine advised that Mr. Dimitrov is departing for Europe to join the European Movement Conference, and that he was being obliged to come to NCFE headquarters to pick up his check for the purpose of the trip.

Mr. Barbour advised that he had met with Mr. Dimitrov and had given the Bulgarian the impression that State did not consider his conduct of affairs to be in the state of perfection which the gentleman himself so claims. Mr. Barbour further advised that he recognized the feeling against Dimitrov among others working on Bulgarian affairs, and that he understands the basis for this criticism. However, he advised that he does consider Dimitrov to be the representative of an important peasant element in Bulgaria, and that he did not consider this fact should be ignored.

Miss Augustine advised that there appeared to be some difficulty with Mr. Shipov's papers, a fact which is retarding his arrival in this country. She further advised of the need for a quorum on the Bulgarian National Council, in order to deal with the political situation which has developed there.

The meeting received a visit from Mr. Heckscher who advised that he was working on a new plan for the reform of the Bulgarian National Committee. He advised that he expected to have the report ready at the time of the next meeting and requested that the members of the meeting consider the Bulgarian question in the meantime, and should they have any specific ideas which they should wish to present, they should contact him in the interval. He advised that he was attempting to draw up a plan whereby membership in the Bulgarian Committee would be established on an elective basis, and suggested that this might be a good time to teach them some of the concepts of democratic procedure.

Mr. Barbour advised of his interest in the Bulgarian political leader known as Kuslarov, and suggested that some consideration be given to bringing this man into Bulgarian exile affairs.

SLAVIC-MAJOR CONFERENCE:

Mr. Vedeler advised that FCFI should consider the Slavic-Major Conference organization within the light of its own activities and purposes.

(Miss Augustine outlined the history of the Slavik-Major Conference and the conditions which are currently existing therein. A copy of Miss Augustine's report will shortly follow this report of the meeting with State).

In reply to Miss Augustine's statement that she understood Mr. Vedeler to believe NCFE should give support to the Slavik-Major Conference, Mr. Vedeler advised that he considered this support should take the form of assistance to special projects, but that he did not advocate that assistance should be given to the Conference on an all-out basis.

Mr. Barbour advised of his approval of this procedure, and requested that precautions be taken in order that Macy not be aroused.

POLISH AFFAIRS:

Miss Augustine advised there was little to report on Polish affairs, other than to advise of a cable which had been received in New York to the effect that General Anders had solicited the aid of Count Raczynski to assist in the formation of the Polish Council of National Unity.

Mr. Vedeler advised that he had spoken to Mr. Joyce regarding a conversation which the latter was presumed to have had with the British in London on cooperation with the U.S. in exile affairs.

Mr. Barbour indicated that he also had a report of Mr. Joyce's discussions with the Foreign Office, and that the former had found little British desire to become involved in the matters of exiled groups. He suggested that the British considered this to be an extremely complicated and undesirable situation which they had wished to avoid.

Mr. Barbour advised that in view of our own record of involvement and disappointments in this policy, we were hardly in a position to advise the British that they should follow our example. However, he indicated that within the next few months the Department will return to further discussions of this matter with the British, and indicated that he had hopes of achieving a greater degree of cooperation and coordination of policies.

(The next meeting will take place on January 23rd.)

9 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe Operations

REFERENCE: Memorandum dated 15 November 1951 from
F. M. E. Nesbitt to Robert Hooker

1. Regarding the project mentioned in the referenced memorandum to transfer approximately 100 Polish exiles to Portugal for the purpose of conducting Polish programs from that country, Mr. Robert E. Lang, Director of Radio Free Europe, has advised us that on 3 January 1952, the Board of Directors of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. decided that at least for the present, it would be advisable to do all Polish programming in Munich. He stated that on Mr. C. D. Jackson's last trip to Portugal, the authorities there advised him that any Polish exiles brought in under the above-mentioned circumstances would have to live under conditions approximating "house arrest," since the Portugese government would not tolerate their circulating freely within the country.

2. Later Mr. Spencer Phenix stated that he and Mr. Gregory Thomas believed that some few Poles could be brought in without such drastic action by the Portugese authorities. He also expressed concern that the short wave communications between Munich and Lisbon were not 100% satisfactory for transmitting the Polish programs, which are then relayed out of Lisbon to Poland. He felt that programming in Portugal would be the best way to handle the problem but admitted that approximately 100 people would be needed, and, under the circumstances, he agreed that it was better to keep the entire program staff all in one place.

3. We are asking

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SECURITY INFORMATION

3. We are asking Mr. Lang to keep us posted on any future plans that may develop to send any of these people to Portugal so that we may advise the Department of State in advance of any such project.

H. Gates Lloyd

DCPY/HGL:ml

Distribution:
Addressee - Original and 1
DCPY - 1
CIO - 1
RI - 2

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vr NCFE File

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

In reply refer to: W-1766
S
January 9, 1952

Mr. Frederic R. Dolbeare
350 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

I am enclosing, for your confidential information, a translation of a letter received by the Austrian Minister in Washington, which has been brought to the attention of our friends. In discussing this matter the Austrian Embassy pointed out that Austria was an occupied country in which were stationed, among others, Soviet troops and expressed the hope that NCFE would refrain from taking any action which might put Austria in an embarrassing position.

I am confident that we can count upon your cooperation in preventing the development of any situation which would embarrass the Austrian Government.

Sincerely,

Travis A. Albery

Attachment 1
As stated above

cc: Miss Viccellio

SECRET

5 January 1952 W-1761

Dear Abbott:

Thank you for reminding me that Ed McHale may soon be available. As you say, I know him, though slightly, but I have always heard excellent things about him.

I have made an attempt to find out who expressed interest in him to Tom Myers but cannot do so. Perhaps, therefore, you would pass this note on to Tom and ask him to let me know sometime soon who expressed the interest. That would help me ascertain whether we will want to try to bring him down here.

My very best wishes to you for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Mr. Abbott Washburn
National Committee for a Free Europe
808 - 7th Avenue
New York, New York

PY-CIO:TWB:eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - PY/Exec Asst.
1 cc - PY
1 cc - CIO✓
2 cc - RI

[illegible] ken — 5 Jan 52

Card hesitates to express any interest in this man ("an operator"; "a friend of Col Harrison's"; a person whom Card knew on AmVets Com) until overall situation is settled. His interest, in any case, is only mild. No one else, so far as I can determine, is interested.

Routine would be to refer to personnel through Mr. Millard, and on basis of his report as to personnel's interest, let Mr. Washburn know whether or not we are trying. (There is clearly no effort being made now and the procedure I see us bound by could involve considerable time and unpredictable results.)

But here is a draft. Nancy

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: PP/Ela

NO.

DATE 28 Dec. '51

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Millard			12/28	REM	
2. Braden			1/2	TWB	For action or advice as to your present slant on matters of this kind. NBV
3. Braden					Cord Meyer might like to have him in mind. I'd like to write Albert & say we're trying.
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

14-00000

December 19, 1951

Dear Tom:

As mentioned to you last Friday, our mutual friend Ed McHale has done a good job here on the New York City Crusade campaign in spite of numerous handicaps and obstacles.

The present clean-up operations will be completed next month, and in view of the somewhat uncertain future of the Crusade I have had a little talk with Ed so that he can be thinking about moving to another assignment.

At the time Ed joined us, Tom Myers indicated that your shop had expressed considerable interest in him. Would you be good enough, Tom, to see whether such interest still exists or whether there are any other slots that might be filled by someone of his ability and forcefulness.

Many thanks,

Yours,

Abbott

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT (Optional)

FROM | EXTENSION | NO.

DATE

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE RECEIVED	DATE FORWARDED	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
1.				PLEASE INITIAL AFTER REVIEWING
2.				DO NOT REMOVE ANY PAPERS OR MUTILATE FOLDER.
3. 2D24 D Boulier CA/IIC	12 Mar 73		DWB	
4. S. Corbat OS/EFR				78-1129 432343 ~~[illegible] 718~~ ~~[illegible] 1589~~
5.				
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10.				
11.				FILE NO. [illegible] CIA AD 37
12.				DOCUMENT:
13.				FOLDER: ~~[illegible]~~ 10
14. RETURN TO CA-56				PAGE:
15. IP/ARD ~~Rm GL-58~~				BOX: ~~3~~ 2

FORM 3-62 610 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS ☐ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ INTERNAL USE ONLY ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

March 1952-June 1952

ICFE

30 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SUBJECT: Preparation and Distribution of a Newsletter in the Serbian Language by Mr. Lazar Radivojevich.

1. This office is interested in a project of facilitating Mr. Lazar Radivojevich, a beneficiary of the NCFE, to prepare (mimeograph) and distribute a small newsletter in the Serbian language, among the former Serbian Officer prisoners of war, who were detained in the camp at St. Johann i Pongau, in Austria, of which camp Mr. Radivojevich was the chief, elected by the members of the camp. About 300-400 members of this camp are now in the United States, having emigrated under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act.

2. Aside from bolstering the morale of these people and assisting them to adjust themselves to their new surroundings, the newsletter is calculated to make it possible for Mr. Radivojevich to maintain contact with them so that this office may be in a position to know their addresses and be informed of their whereabouts at all times. For your information, this office believes that, under certain circumstances in the future, this group or members of it might be useful, and desires to see it maintain its ties through Mr. Radivojevich.

3. The newsletter would have no political character whatsoever. It would contain social and personal news of interest to the group; new arrivals of former colleagues; news of the whereabouts and doings of members of the group; questions and answers for the emigration; something about the history and customs of the United States, and such other items as might help them orient and adjust themselves in their new surroundings.

4. The Deputy for SE/PC has presented this project to Mr. Campbell of the State Department and secured his approval.

5. We believe this project should be implemented under the sponsorship of the NCFE and, to this end, we request you to be good enough to take the matter up with them. This office will be glad to

cooperate with the NCFE with a view to establishing means for control of the contents of the newsletter.

6. To set up this project Mr. Radivojevich would need a typewriter with Cyrillic letters, a hand press and a masthead for the paper, which would represent a total investment of approximately $198. He figures that he could then print his newsletter twice a month, about 400 copies of each edition, for a monthly amount of $180.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

14-00000

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SECURITY INFORMATION

26 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, IO/TOMIC

SUBJECT: Stanislaus Oskierka

1. Walter Pforzheimer called me to say that a Congressman with whom he is in touch had asked whether we were taking on a Mr. Stanislaus Oskierka. He was informed by the Congressman that Tom Myers told him that there was no job for him in NCFE but that he might be able to get a job in CIA in Washington.

2. This is the kind of thing Myers shouldn't do, and I think he should be called on it.

3. I find, incidentally, that Oskierka has not requested employment through Myers to John Shields and I will tell Mr. Pforzheimer that he should check with CIA Personnel.

TWB

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - Mr. Pforzheimer
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

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SECURITY INFORMATION

26 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

THROUGH: ADDP & CP/P

SUBJECT: Robert J. Moore

1. On 2 June 1952 you told me of your interview with Robert J. Moore and of his grievances on his dismissal from NCFE. Mr. Moore was dismissed from NCFE on security grounds and his dismissal was initiated by this Agency.

2. Subsequently Moore interviewed Bill Durkee in New York for a job in the American Committee on United Europe but there was none available. During the course of this interview, Moore, though not knowing Durkee was an employee of CIA, divulged security information about NCFE-CIA relationships, and our security people have been notified of this fact.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/hka

Distribution:
Orig. - Addressee
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - IO/T-NIC
2 cc - RI

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

25 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Complaint of Yugoslav Counselor

1. Wally Barbour told me today that the Counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy had called upon him to complain about the presence of Yugoslav delegates at the NCFE Williamsburg Conference and the signing of the Williamsburg statement by Yugoslav delegates.

2. Mr. Barbour said that the Counselor prefaced his remarks with a statement that he knew Mr. Barbour would reply that he had no influence over NCFE and no connection with it. Mr. Barbour said that that was what he had said and that his statement was received by the Counselor with a polite shrug.

3. Barbour did not seem unduly worried, but I told him that we would shortly ask him for a review of State policy in respect to the national councils and exiles with whom NCFE is dealing and he said he would welcome the opportunity to make such a review.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - DDCI (thru ADPC & DD/P)
1 cc - EE - (returned to C/IO 9 July & destroyed. Initialed by Bross (Macomber & Hurley have seen RHM -
1 cc - TDMIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

24 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, IO Division

SUBJECT: Current NCFE Discussions with Rumanian National Peasant Party Members

REFERENCE: Memorandum to Chief, IO Division, Subject: SE Division Plan for Rumanian Emigre Organization, dated 28 May 1952

1. In a telephone conversation with Mr. Prichett on 23 June, Mr. Dolbeare informed us that the NCFE discussions with members of the Rumanian National Peasant Party had been held with the emigres by pairs rather than in a group as planned. On Wednesday, June 18, Altschule held meetings as follows:

Rautu and Bunescu
Botosani and Radovan
Ghilezan and Venetu (did not attend)

2. A meeting is scheduled for this week with Popa and Bianu. Meetings between Ghilezan and Rautu and between Botosani and Venetu have been arranged.

3. According to Mr. Dolbeare, the National Peasants have been asked by NCFE to formulate a plan for a new committee. Mr. Dolbeare did not indicate whether NCFE suggested the form outlined in the SE Division Plan.

4. The arrangements for the discussions with the National Peasants differ, as follows, from those agreed on by CIA and Mr. Leich in the discussion of the implementation of the SE Plan:

a. A general meeting of the National Peasants, listed in paragraph 3 b of the Plan, was suggested in the Plan. The general meeting was requested for the specific purpose of bringing National Peasants of both groups together and emphasizing party unity.

b. It appears that neither Crihan nor Manuila has been included in the discussions.

c. The addition of Rautu to the discussions is not opposed, however the addition of Venetu is.

SECRET

14-00000

5. It is requested that NCFE be informed that the discussions were not carried out in accordance with the original plan nor with the agreement between CIA and NCFE. It is further requested that the following action be taken by NCFE to rectify actions taken so far:

a. That CIA be informed prior to, not after the event, when substitutions, changes, or additions are made to the accepted plans.

b. That NCFE inform us promptly of action taken in connection with this current plan.

c. That NCFE arrange, as soon as possible, to meet with Popa, Bianu and Crihan.

d. That NCFE forestall formal meetings, outlined in paragraph 2 above, between the members of the New York group.

e. That NCFE send letters to the following National Peasants, Popa, Bianu, Crihan, Ghilezan, S. Manuila, Rautu, Bunescu, Potosani and Radovan indicating that a general meeting of the National Peasants will be held in the near future to discuss party responsibility in forming an emigre organization. The NCFE officer conducting the meeting should be briefed on the SE Division Plan by an officer of this division.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

23 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, WE

SUBJECT: Debriefing of Harry Sperling by L. de Neufville

1. L. de Neufville recently cabled that H. Sperling, who is to be relieved as Chief of RFE information gathering in Munich, was talking freely of his removal and making comments about his replacement.

2. De Neufville suggested that Sperling be sent back to Washington for a debriefing. For many reasons, including our relations with NCFE, we would prefer it to be done in the field.

3. I therefore suggest that de Neufville be allowed to do this for us and would appreciate your approval of my sending him the attached message.

Thomas W. Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment 1
As stated above.

SECRET

14-00000

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

TO: GEARING

Regarding Sperling. His debriefing for many reasons should not be done here. Would appreciate your doing with object of getting as complete a story as possible but with special attention to:

1. Method of programming, control exercised in Munich and control of Munich by New York in as detailed form as possible.

2. What emigre groups are favored if any.

3. What relations are with our people, British and Germans.

4. What is set-up of news gathering?

5. What security procedures are followed in Munich.

6. What has been or is being done to determine effectiveness of programs from all angles (1) technical, (2) content, (3) audience reaction, etc.

SECRET

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP 90/731

TO		INITIALS	DATE
1	MR. BRADEN		
2	MR. EAKMAN		
3			
4			
5			

FROM		INITIALS	DATE
1	DEPUTY DIRECTOR	AWD	6/17/52
2			
3			

- [ ] APPROVAL
- [ ] ACTION
- [ ] COMMENT
- [ ] CONCURRENCE
- [ ] INFORMATION
- [ ] DIRECT REPLY
- [ ] PREPARATION OF REPLY
- [ ] RECOMMENDATION
- [ ] SIGNATURE
- [ ] RETURN
- [ ] DISPATCH
- [ ] FILE

REMARKS: DDCI has asked to see copy of the paper we have for use in the event something of this nature happens.

JSE

1-9306

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM 30-4 SEP. 1947 16—67704-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

Executive Registry
3-0377

21 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed Statement on NCFE

1. Here is my proposal for the final draft of the NCFE emergency statement. It is the result of changes suggested in my own second draft by Frank Wisner, yourself and Spencer Phenix.

2. Note that not all of the changes suggested by you have been adopted. All changes were considered by Wisner, Phenix and myself, and I would be glad to tell you the comments that were made and the reasons why we felt the attachment should be approved.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

4 Attachments
Final statement and
Drafts 3, 4 & 5

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - DD/P (thru ADPC)
1 cc - IO/DDIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

14-00000

PROPOSED STATEMENT

The National Committee for a Free Europe is an organization of private American citizens whose purpose is to encourage the spread of freedom behind the Iron Curtain in Europe. It is a membership corporation, chartered under the laws of the State of New York.

In spreading the doctrine of freedom and combatting Soviet totalitarianism, the Committee operates radio stations which pierce the Iron Curtain; in close cooperation with the French authorities and the University of Strasbourg, it operates an educational centre at Strasbourg for young men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain; it attempts by other means than radio to carry messages of hope and of the possibility of eventual liberation to the nations which are now enslaved; it conducts studies of the laws, customs and cultures of these nations as they existed prior to Soviet occupation; and it documents the changes which have been imposed by the Soviet so that if the time should come when the people rise against their conquerors, they may more easily establish continuity with their past.

In all of this work the Committee draws information and support from many sources -- from those who have escaped and who must remain anonymous for fear of reprisals on their families at home, from those in this country who wish to work voluntarily for the cause of freedom abroad, from the American people at large, and from government agencies which, in the American tradition, give all possible aid to private citizens engaged in a worthwhile public cause.

Fund raising for the Committee is done by a subsidiary, the Crusade for Freedom which, in the course of raising money, also helps to keep before the American people and people throughout the world the need for spreading the idea of freedom. For example, the Freedom Bell, which now rings regularly over the city of Berlin, was the gift of sixteen million Americans who contributed to the Crusade for Freedom. All in all, signatures and voluntary donations from more than twenty-five million Americans have come to the Crusade for Freedom to date. Generous contributions have also been made to the Committee by private foundations; and at the request of Government agencies, certain specific research and other projects have been undertaken and carried on with the assistance of funds provided by the departments or agencies concerned.

A Board of Directors consisting of prominent American citizens from all walks of life pass upon the policies and supervise the

operations of the Committee. The work of the Committee is carried forward under the direction of its President, Rear Admiral Harold B. Miller, USN Retired, who is on leave of absence from the American Petroleum Institute. On March 1, 1952, he succeeded Mr. C. D. Jackson, who has returned to resume his position with TIME-LIFE, Inc.

CONFIDENTIAL - S. .rity Information
(Attachment)

June 25, 1952

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Braden

FROM: Jesse MacKnight

SUBJECT: 1952 Crusade for Freedom

Please see that the attached memo gets to Mr. Walsh through secure channels.

Attachment:
Memo to Walsh from MacKnight dtd. 6/23/52
Copy of this Memo for Mr. Braden

CONFIDENTIAL - Security Information

June 23, 1952

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Richard Walsh

FROM: Jesse L. MacKnight

SUBJECT: 1952 Crusade for Freedom

Your memorandum of June 21 has been reviewed and the following comments represent a consensus of our opinion:

1. Phase One - The balloon idea as a fund raising device is satisfactory, provided substantial emphasis is also given to the use of RFE and other vehicles as methods of delivering the messages behind the Iron Curtain.

2. Phase Two - The idea of a message based on the Christmas theme is satisfactory subject to agreement on the precise text.

3. Phase Three - Subject to review, in light of any future developments in Europe which might affect the tentative decision, there is agreement on the use of a small number of balloons as a symbolic operation.

4. Phase Four - The gift idea as part of a balloon project is considered undesirable.

CONFIDENTIAL - Security Information

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

17 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Braden, PY/IO

SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe

1. For your information the following report on Radio Free Europe Hungarian broadcasts was received here recently, although the information was obtained last March:

"a. Radio Free Europe broadcasts from MUNICH, Germany, are more popular than the Voice of America programs and its news coverage is considered both current and based on authentic sources. However, its commentaries on foreign politics are severely criticised and allegedly the general opinion in Hungary is that whoever writes this program has not the slightest idea either of the conditions in Hungary or of the general needs of the people.

"b. There are also objections to the program of News Briefs (ROVAT ADASOK). This program is considered a nuisance and isn't even listened to by those for whom it is intended. By scheduling 15 and 30 minute programs specifically beamed to different segments of the population, such as: the women's program, the church program, the farmer's program, book and movie reviews, etc., Radio Free Europe reduces its listening audience to those who might be interested in the specific program, while the majority of the listeners are forced either to cease listening to their radios or change to another broadcasting station. As a result, Radio Free Europe has been losing its audience and the decline is especially noticeable during the program of News Briefs when the majority of the listeners allegedly change over to the BBC program.

"c. The workers are particularly interested in political news and are in an excellent position to spread the news throughout the factories. Again the BBC appears to be the most popular station. Informant learned of the fate of one Imre HORVATH, a group leader in a Textile Mill in SZEGED. HORVATH passed on some news concerning the activities of the "Political Police" of SZEGED which he had originally heard on one of these foreign broadcasts. This resulted in HORVATH being immediately transferred to DUNAPENTELE and his "group" was disbanded.

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

"d. The necessity for special programs beamed at the youth of Hungary is very acute. The youth of today which has passed its 16th year of age does not listen to children's programs any longer but is interested in broadcasts on the subject of anti-Communist ideologies. This is the age group that the Communists are especially interested in and on whose education in the Communist spirit special emphasis is placed. All of this age group, without exception, attends Communist Party schools and Marxist seminars and also receives pre-military training. To aid in this thorough indoctrination in Marxism as presented to them, special newspapers and magazines full of Communist ideological material are being published. It is therefore highly desirable that special programs aimed at this youth group be prepared so that they will be able to judge for themselves the true conditions in comparison to the propaganda that is fed to them by the Communist regime of Hungary."

2. The comment of the field accompanying this report states:

"An effort is being made to ascertain the basis of the above critique of foreign radio broadcasts by asking Informant if this critique represents his own opinions or the opinions of one or more friends or casual contacts, and whether it is an observation of the programs which were heard during his short visit in BUDAPEST or based on a longer period of time. Inasmuch as Informant cannot be contacted directly, we have no assurance that this information will be forthcoming in the near future, and it is deemed best to submit the above critique as is, for the time being."

GEORGE WEISZ

EE/PC/H/GW/rwp
Distribution:
1,2 - Addressee
3,4 - EE/PC/H
5,6 - RI/FI

Sent to N. Y. 26 June 195-

17 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Vespasien V. Pella

1. With reference to your note of 2 June transmitting various papers regarding the employment of Vespasien V. Pella by the Mid-European Studies Center, this matter was taken up with Admiral Miller on 13 June.

2. I agree with Mr. Campbell that Dr. Pella has received unfair treatment by the Fund and that if it was not the intention of the Mid-European Studies Center to provide remuneration for his services, no promises to him should have been made in the first place. We have asked the Fund to reconsider its decision and to try to make some arrangements for employing him.

3. We are awaiting an answer from the Fund and shall inform you of its decision.

THOMAS W. BRADEN

IO/TOMIC:ES/eh

Distribution:
Orig & 1 - Addressee (thru ADPC)
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - IO/TOMIC
2 cc - RI

14-00000

10 June

BILL:

My opinion on this matter is the same as Campbell's: that Pella has not gotten a square deal from NCFE.

Have talked to Mary Newsom (~~xxxx~~ acting chief of Rumanian desk, PC) on this and she 1) agrees that Pella should get renumeration for his work and 2) thinks that his background is O.K.

Also talked to Wilson Pritchett. He doesn't want to give an o.k. on this, unless and until a name check has been done.

Question: Do we meet the "suspense" and get a name check or do we go ahead. I'd be in favor of the latter---and of informing SE afterwards.

Has a name check!! 1950

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: IO/Tonic

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. C/IO				JWB	Tonic to 1
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

Tonic to 1

Walsh is preparing [illegible] paper detailing complete plans of campaign.

McKnight will pass one around then we can consider the other at same time.

At conference I indicated no balloon operations possible but indicated question of whether Am. public could be told balloons etc would be used to deliver the message could be considered separately.

I will confer with McKnight Thursday on this. Plan as a whole seems much better than Ford [illegible] operation. Walsh is also thinking of this in [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] — "Peaceful [illegible] etc." [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in spite of [illegible] [illegible] about [illegible]

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

Bill. How did you leave this matter?

Memo to: Admiral Miller June 13, 1952

From: Richard Walsh

Subject: Crusade for Freedom Campaign

I have studied very carefully the plan for the fund raising campaign this fall submitted by Fred Smith. A series of discussions have been held with the staff of Crusade for Freedom, and the following conclusions are the consensus of all who have studied the proposed program.

First, it is felt that because of the nation-wide acceptance of the Crusade and its recognized success during the past two years it would be a mistake to substitute the "Dimes for Freedom" slogan for Crusade for Freedom. The Advertising Council concurs with us in our reluctance to use the word "Dimes" for several substantial reasons. Foremost among them is the fact that our drive for funds will end on December 15th, and the March of Dimes, which the Advertising Council will also assist on, will start about January 1st. Another important factor to be considered is the difficulty of selling a new slogan, such as Dimes for Freedom, to a public which has already contributed $3,500,000 to support Crusade for Freedom, Freedom Bell, Winds of Freedom, Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia.

The Dimes for Freedom program not only loses the effect of the last two campaigns which gave acceptance to the name Crusade for Freedom, but also takes no apparent thoughtof the future of the organization. What happens in 1953? Do we start from scratch again with some completely new promotional idea? By changing emphasis every year we build up no continuing and increasing acceptance of the Crusade for Freedom.

Another danger inherent in the plan is the drive for 40,000,000 signatures. Even with the Freedom Train and Freedom Bell, which people could see, hear, touch and ring, 16,000,000 signatures were obtained. It is highly improbable that we could secure 40,000,000 signatures with nothing more tangible than the "We don't like Communism" statement.

Except for the Dimes for Freedom slogan and the usual outline of state and local organizations, the plan itself does not lend itself to execution. Perhaps the most difficult operation would be that of the trucks with the proposed huge scrolls. Their cross-country trek would be extremely hard to operate and coordinate. The weather would cause great difficulties, particularly crossing the northern Midwest. We could not depend on any truck holding to a schedule across the Dakotas, Nebraska, or half a dozen other states during the blizzard season.

Another factor to be considered is that every town in the country would not be visited.

The idea of having the trucks converge on Washington is one which I think should be given a great deal of consideration. I have no doubt but that the Department of State and specifically the Voice of America would protest vigorously to any approach that might be made to Congress.

We have come up with another idea which we feel would lend itself to the greatest possible psychological warfare usage. It would also enable us to coordinate our campaign wi[illegible] the objectives and program of the Voice of America.

Tying in the previous accomplishments of the Crusade, namely, facilities for Radio Free Europe, the Freedom Bell and the balloon operation, we feel that we could distribute through our state and local organizations millions of thin paper leaflets, such as those used in the Winds of Freedom operation. These would carry a message based on the Christmas theme of peace on earth, good will to men; the Freedom Bell would be printed at the top, and beneath the foreign language messages would be space at the bottom for personal signatures and addresses. And the signatures would be promoted throughout the country on the basis that these messages of good will would be flown in balloons behind the Iron Curtain during the Christmas season. The basic approach to the American people would be that their contributions to this year's campaign would not only go to purchase balloons that would carry their personal message behind the Iron Curtain (we now have stored in Munich 55,000 unmarked P-20 balloons and 5,000 balloons marked "Wolnosc"), but would also go to improve and increase the facilities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia.

The focal point of this campaign would be a balloon itself. We have 20,000 P-20 balloons in Minneapolis. These balloons could be distributed through state chairmen to cities and towns where they could be inflated and placed in front of city hall or public square. Beneath the balloons, receptacles would be placed where both the leaflets and contributions could be collected. For example, each city committee could letter its balloon to read "From the Citizens of Peoria, Illinois, U.S.A."

Actually, none of these balloons would be shipped to Europe, but the leaflets could be air-mailed to New York on December 15th and be forwarded to Munich to arrive before Christmas Day.

Another possibility to be considered is the "gift" from American people idea. We now have in Munich 100,000 razor blades, 75,000 needles, 150,000 cakes of soap and 100,000 zippers. These might be included in the balloons. I think this idea has much to commend it. For one thing, this would give something besides words to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain who are likely to get fed up on too many messages which tell them to keep their chins up. Secondly, it provides an excellent way of countering Red propaganda against the balloon operation: Radio Free Europe will then be able to ask, "Don't your masters want you to receive gifts? Don't they want you to ask why it is so difficult to get razor blades in your country and why the free world has enough of them that it can send them to you?"

I presume that the question will be raised as to what the Communists would do with advance knowledge of the operation. I feel that the answer to this lies in the joint operation of both RFE and VOA, continually reporting during the month of the Crusade of the great drive throughout America to secure

these messages of friendship and hope for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. By thus taking the offensive and putting the Communists on notice that this is a great expression of unanimity on the part of the American people — any attempt on the part of the Communists to deprecate or interfere with the program would lend itself to psychological warfare use. This coincides with General Clay's statement in his letter of February 14th to the various state chairmen.

We are not underestimating the magnitude of such an operation here or abroad. To gain the maximum psychological benefit, at least 100,000 balloons should be used. It could be a hard-hitting demonstration of the effectiveness of the Crusade for Freedom.

Every member of the Crusade staff, including the field organization, hopes that this idea may be approved. Seeing the balloons in their home towns and knowing that their messages could reach the peoples behind the Iron Curtain should inspire millions of Americans to support the campaign financially and would serve to remind them constantly throughout the campaign of the tremendous accomplishments achieved during the last two years as a result of their personal contributions.

It is most important that we secure positive and unalterable clearance of this idea within the next ten days.

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

12 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: NCFE-CFA

1. I am attaching two memoranda having to do with NCFE on which it is unnecessary for you to take action. They point nevertheless to the inevitable difficulties we have in dealing with large and necessarily somewhat autonomous organizations such as NCFE and CFA. We are, as you know, charged by directive with exercising control over these organizations, and the memoranda indicate that maintaining this control is a difficult day-to-day job requiring considerable tact and determination as well as efficiency and a high spirit of cooperation. In both NCFE and CFA there is a pride in independence which ought to be encouraged, but there is also a sense of irritation with having to inform anyone in Washington about anything and the tendency to regard anyone below the level of General Smith and yourself (and with NCFE, Mr. Wisner) as in the way.

2. With NCFE, this irritation probably goes back to another era. As I read the history, the operation at that time was a backstopping operation pure and simple, and I think it was not an efficient one; certainly it had no respect in New York. We have worked hard to resolve past tangles, to make our relationships orderly and clean, and eventually to move to the point at which it may be possible to do more than backstop. I do not mean that we have any impression that it is possible to run these large organizations from Washington, but I have had in mind to build the kind of Division and to get the kind of people who would of their own abilities and efficiency be respected in a manner which would enable them to give guidance and real help in the field of ideas and policy coordination.

3. We now have Bill Durkee, Emmons Brown and Cord Meyer as Branch Chiefs in IO and we are getting some very good people to work with them. I think we are well equipped to handle the difficulties which the memoranda indicate, providing we have firm backing from the Hill. The necessity of getting this backing leads me to ask you to review here the recent Valentine incident.

SECRET

4. On 10 June, Alan Valentine remarked to Emmons Brown that you had agreed that I should be rebuked for my letter to him of 22 May. This was an unsolicited comment from Valentine, and Brown made no reply.

5. I have gone over the record of letters to and from Valentine since he assumed his duties and I have also carefully gone over the record of all the activities which CFA has undertaken on which liaison, backstopping and policy guidance from us were involved, and I find to my own satisfaction that we have done an effective job for Valentine. I find memoranda and records indicating that I have on several occasions, as in the letter to which he referred, asked for his comment and criticism and assured him that my sole purpose was to be helpful to him in doing his job. I would be glad to go over these records with you. Despite this, however, Valentine has told me that neither Brown nor I are high level enough for him to talk to and that in the future he will get his policy guidance directly from you or from General Smith.

6. At my express suggestion Valentine began writing letters to you. I realized that he was a difficult person and I knew that writing to you and receiving letters from you would give him the sense of importance that he wanted. When he wrote you, however, to protest my appointment of Emmons Brown as Executive Officer of the IO Division and to suggest to you personnel arrangements in IO that should, in the first instance at least, and in any spirit of friendly cooperation have been made to me, it seemed to me that I ought to be fairly firm. I do not think my letter in reply was in error. Even if it was, I think you should have backed me up on it. If I make mistakes, you can fire me. Until you do fire me, you ought to back me. As matters now stand, you have put me in a position where, in dealing with the situation I have tried to outline above, I shall have greater difficulty than before.

7. I have thought about all of this carefully and feel it right to tell you that I think you let me down.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

2 Attachments
2 Memos for the Record
dtd 12 June 1952.

CIO:TWB/eh
Orig - Addressee
~~1 cc - DDI-G~~
~~1 cc - DDI-G~~
1 cc - CIO
~~2 cc - RI~~

14-00000

10 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

ATTENTION: Mr. Rick Deane
Operations Division

SUBJECT: MB 50 Transmitters

1. This is to confirm our conversation to the effect that both PTPILLAR and TPTONIC are interested in the MB 50 mobile transmitting equipment. Both feel that they can use that equipment profitably in their radio operation. We shall need a little time to reach a judgment as to which of these projects should receive the equipment and to determine its best utilization.

2. We should like to request that this equipment be transferred to the IO Division for later determination as to whether it may best be utilized by PTPILLAR or TPTONIC.

3. It is our understanding that this will be transferred to us without reimbursement and that this will not involve the IO Division in the so-called M 50 project which has been discussed at length with Mr. Lindsey and others of your staff.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

IO/EBB:blj
Distribution
Orig - Addressee
1 - IO/ExO
1 - CIO
2 - RI

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

Executive Registry
2-9832

5 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)

SUBJECT: Truman Speech to American Action Committee Against Mass Deportations in Romania

1. May I urge you to read the attached commentary by RFE on President Truman's statement the other day to the Romanian exiles, which was the subject of considerable concern to RFE and to VOA.

2. Please note the manner in which RFE handled this job. The President spoke words which RFE has for months urged that it be allowed to speak. Because the President had departed from his text, it was not possible to give RFE any guidance to say they should play the President's words strongly or that they should play them down. The State Department at first gave orders to the Voice to play the speech up, and only later was this countermanded. Meantime, however, RFE, acting without guidance from us, broadcast the attached which I think might well be shown to Mr. Joyce and others in State as an example of RFE responsibility and judgment.

Thomas W. Braden
THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee (thru ADPC)
1 cc - IO/TONIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

2-9795

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

4 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)

SUBJECT: Project TPTONIC

1. On 18 April 1952 the Project Review Committee recommended to the DCI approval of Project TPTONIC calling for the payment of $438,991 to the Crusade for Freedom for 1953. As a rider to its recommendation for approval of the project, the Committee made the following provision: that a consulting firm be employed by CIA at a consultant's fee to investigate the Crusade operation, both from the standpoint of substance and administration with particular attention to cost.

2. This proviso was made at the instance of Mr. Hedden, Inspector General. I argued at this meeting that since the Crusade itself was a fund-raising agency and employed another fund-raising agency to help it, the employment of a third fund-raising agency as consultant was comparable to placing an advertising contract with N. W. Ayer and then placing another contract with Young & Rubicam to investigate N. W. Ayer's conduct under the contract. Mr. Heddon insisted in response that this was reasonable business practice and his view carried the day.

3. Several weeks ago, with all the tact that I could muster, I conveyed to Admiral Miller, the President of NCFE, my intention to employ the firm of Harold Oram or some other fund-raising agency or individual whom he might care to suggest as a consultant to me and the Crusade operation. Admiral Miller said he would like time to think about this.

4. With kindly intent but considerable firmness, Admiral Miller told me on 3 June that after thinking it over he had decided that if this step were taken he would resign as President of NCFE. He went on to say that he had taken this job at our request and because he had been told that we placed confidence in him to run an efficient operation. He had worked hard trying to make the operation efficient; he had particularly noted that the Crusade was not run according to

SECRET

his standards of efficiency; he had made several changes in the Crusade and was about to make more; he had himself employed people whom he regarded as expert who were responsible to him to give him advice on the Crusade problem and he simply could not tolerate a system of inspection which was not responsible to him; if we had any lack of confidence in him as an efficient manager, he would be glad to return to his former employment immediately.

5. We discussed the whole problem in friendly terms for some ten minutes and it was apparent that nothing I could say would alter his position. I therefore ceased to press him.

6. May I have a decision as to whether higher authority wishes to take this up with Admiral Miller or whether the PRC wishes to strike its instructions to me.

Thomas Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee (thru ADPC)
1 cc - IO/IONIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI
1 cc - PRC file

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The RI Copy of TOP SECRET
document 63466
dated 21 Oct 1952
which was removed from this
file, is filed in the RI
TOP SECRET CONTROL SECTION
1305 "L" Bldg.

SECRET
Security Information

2 June 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: C [illegible], [illegible] STATION

SUBJECT: Reactions of [illegible]-III on the proposals outlined in the [illegible] Report.

REFERENCE: [illegible] of 27 January 1952 (The [illegible] Report) [illegible] from C/[illegible] dated 16 April 1952

1. [illegible]-III considers that the proposals made by the [illegible] Report should receive favorable consideration by CIC. Rehabilitation work and the semi-consular activities of these various Refugee Committees are a highly instrumental means of combating Communist influences among disillusioned emigres in France, and will help give unity to the various emigre groups in France.

2. However, [illegible]-III does not believe that this work should be undertaken by an overt American organization. The following are the reasons for [illegible]-III's position:

(a) The French public as a whole, already touchy about "Americans in France", would resent this unnecessary interference in French domestic affairs by an American organization.

(b) Should a large American organization, such as [illegible], undertake such work, the Quai d'Orsay, the Ministry of Interior and the French Services would conclude that this was done with the semi-official endorsement of the US Government. It is believed that these governmental departments would conclude that the US favored expanding [illegible] in France at the expense of the newly formed French Committee for Free Europe, which has the general approval of the present French Government. This might have an adverse effect on State Department's relations with the Foreign Office, and might well jeopardize CIA's own position with the French Intelligence Services, seriously compromising CIC's present attempts to obtain permission to recruit emigres in France for operational use.

(c) It is also believed that an indigenous French Committee is in a better position than an American group to deal with the particular problems that emigres face in France, and to give leadership and unity to the emigre movement in France. At present the

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present the

French Government is organizing a special office within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to act as a sort of General Consulate for Refugees. Both the Bull Report and a report of Dr. [illegible]'s ([illegible] Memorandum [illegible], dated April [illegible], 1952), indicate that this office will remain small, and the actual rehabilitation and consular work would be turned over to a non-governmental agency. WE-III's contact with the French Committee and Dr. [illegible]'s report both indicate that the French Committee is to be chosen to handle this problem. Obviously, in the face of developing French policy, and the particular situation now existing in France, it would be unwise for [illegible] to encourage [illegible] to compete and duplicate a function which the French Government has already earmarked for an indigenous organization. However, in view of the present position of [illegible] in France, and its far-reaching influence throughout the emigre field, it is believed that [illegible] should continue its activities in emigre affairs in France through its present Paris office, and should extend them to include some limited overt financial support to the French Committee to be used along the lines suggested in the Bull Report.

3. WE-III believes that [illegible] interests can best be served through OPC cover support of the French Committee. By properly developing the present initial covert contacts with the French Committee, it is believed that OPC can maintain effective operating relationships with the Committee, and insure that its actions and policies will conform to our objectives and be properly co-ordinated with those of [illegible]. Thus OPC would seek to exert control over emigre groups and activities in France, without openly interfering in French domestic affairs.

4. For the reasons stated above, WE-III reiterates its position as outlined in a memorandum for A[illegible] (dated [illegible] May 1952) which has been [illegible] approved by the [illegible], and in which it was recommended that WE-III be responsible for covertly directing and supporting emigre activities in France, tentatively using at present the French Committee for Free Europe.

[illegible] CHAVER[illegible]
[illegible]-C

WE-III/FC/GB/pl

Distribution:
- Orig. - Addressee
- 2 - WE-III
- 1 - ADPC
- 1 - WE-Chrono
- 2 - FI Analysis
- 2 - G.

SECRET
Security Information

MAY 28 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)

SUBJECT: Request by NCFE for Gearing

1. Messrs. Miller and Braden met with me on 22 May for discussion of the above subject.

2. Taking into account the need of NCFE for a political advisor, the qualifications and personality of Gearing, and the availability of qualified personnel, the following course of action was fully discussed and adopted.

a. Mr. Braden will attempt to recruit Bolte to serve initially with NCFE as political advisor and join the Agency at some later date.

b. Gearing will return to Headquarters later this year and assume the duties of the Labor Desk in the IO Division. In coordination with WE, Mr. Braden will follow up with Gearing, possibly in connection with a trip to Europe in the near future.

c. Richard Aldrich will replace Gearing in Paris. Mr. Miller, who already has had one tentative conversation with Aldrich, will follow in coordination with WE.

Gerald E. Miller
for

KILBOURNE JOHNSTON
Assistant Director for
Policy Coordination

DADPC/GEM/mgb
27 May 1952

Distribution: Addressee - Orig.
CIO - 1
CWE - 1
RI/FE - 2
~~DADPC - 1~~

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Security Information

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SECURITY INFORMATION

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27 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Statements by Ronald D. Jeancon, RFE, London

REFERENCE: My memorandum to you dated 23 April 1952

1. On 23 April 1952 I wrote you stating that Admiral Miller was going to discuss with Ronald D. Jeancon statements accredited to Jeancon which appeared in an interview in the London Daily Worker, and that I would let you know the results of this conversation.

2. Admiral Miller, after an interview with Jeancon, informs me that a correspondent for the Worker interviewed Jeancon and that subsequently a story appeared in the Worker which was completely unfactual, the fact of the interview being used as a peg on which to hang Jeancon, and RFE.

3. The charges made against Jeancon have therefore been dropped.

THOMAS W. BRADEN

CIO;TWB/eh

Orig & 1 - Addressee
1 cc - DD/P (thru ADPC)
1 cc - IO/TMIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

Carbon copy of above returned by State - Mr. Joyce on 4 June with comment:

"Why did he get mixed up with a Daily Worker man? Such naivete makes one wonder about his usefulness.
RPJ

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[redacted] SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

23 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Statements by Ronald D. Jeancon, RFE, London

REFERENCE: Letter 9 April 1952 Robert G. Hooker, Jr. to Robert P. Joyce

1. Frank Wisner passed on to me the note from Bob Hooker about the article in the Daily Worker on Wednesday, April 2, quoting Mr. Jeancon.

2. I had learned of Mr. Jeancon's outburst within a few days after he made it and I passed the information on at once to Admiral Miller of NCFE. Admiral Miller was greatly disturbed by Jeancon's remarks and corroborated Hooker's suggestion that he had done this type of thing before.

3. Admiral Miller promised to put the Jeancon affair high on his agenda for his present trip abroad. He will discuss the incident with Jeancon and he contemplates dismissing him. I will let you know the result of Admiral Miller's conversation with Jeancon as soon as I get word.

THOMAS W. BRADEN

Enclosure
Reference letter and
newspaper clipping.

CIO:TWB/eh

Copies 1 & 2 - Addressee
Copy 3 - DD/P (thru ADPC)
Copy 4 - CIO
Copy 5 - IO/TOPIC
Copy 6 - RI

[redacted] SECRET

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In reply refer to: W-2062
S

22 May 1952

Dear Leonard:

In order to continue our practice of putting things on paper, I want to tell you by this note that I have been instructed by the Director to hire the services of Harold Oram as a fund-raising consultant on the Crusade for Freedom. At some time in the near future I hope you will permit Nelson Alcander to bring Oram and yourself, or anyone else with whom you care to deal, together to discuss means by which we can fulfill this requirement.

In addition, I have been instructed to notify you that after this year's program, the Crusade for Freedom budget should be substantially cut.

You will gather from the foregoing that, like yourself, we have been giving careful consideration here to the whole Crusade program and we have some ideas about strengthening the Crusade that I personally feel Oram is by all means the best man to put into effect. I have asked Nelson to outline these to you and get your thoughts. Provided you agree, I should like to get started with Oram on this particular job, a part of the Crusade program — as Nelson will explain to you, right away.

Sincerely,

Oliver E. Hadwood

CIO: TnB:eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - IO/Log
2 cc - IO/ENIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

22 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR INSPECTION AND REPORTS

SUBJECT: Suspension of Balloon Operations by Order of DCI

1. The Crusade for Freedom proposed launching about 60,000 balloons toward Hungary during Easter Week, 1952, each carrying a traditional Hungarian Easter Greeting together with a package of scarce household articles such as razor blades, needles, soap, zippers, bouillon cubes, vitamin pills, etc. This project was known as "Operation Easter Bunny."

2. At their meeting on Friday, 7 March 1952, the Project Review Committee withheld approval of this project pending discussion with the Director of two unresolved points:

a. Approval by the British of launchings from their Zone of Austria.

b. The question of including packaged items with the Easter Greetings.

3. On or about Tuesday, 11 March, DD/P telephoned to T. W. Braden, CIO, in the temporary absence of DC/PY, and advised substantially as follows:

"Operation Easter Bunny is off by the personal decision of DCI. This decision to cancel has been reached for an entirely new reason that you can find in an article on the 3rd page of today's NEW YORK TIMES."

The article cited by DD/P was a report of continued Communist accusations that Germ Warfare was being waged by UN forces in Korea.

4. The Crusade people in New York were advised that their project was cancelled and no further amplification of DCI's ruling was received.

H. GATES LLOYD
Deputy Chief
Psychological Staff Division

DC/PY/HGL:al

Distribution:
Addressee - Original; CIO - 1; CPY - 1; DC/PY - 1; RI - 2

21 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed Statement on NCFE

I feel that Attachment A, the statement handed to us by Admiral Miller, is apologetic in tone and I have drafted Attachment B which I believe is more positive and would be a better press release for NCFE in the unhoped for event that a press release is called for.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

2 Attachments

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - DDCI (thru DD/P)
1 cc - IO/TDHI C
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

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PROPOSED STATEMENT

(Draft #4, 20 May 1952)

The National Committee for a Free Europe is an organization of American citizens whose purpose is to encourage the spread of freedom in Europe. It is a membership corporation, chartered under the laws of the State of New York.

In its attempt to spread the doctrine of freedom and consequently to combat Soviet totalitarianism, the Committee operates radio stations which pierce the Iron Curtain; it operates a university at Strasbourg for young men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain; it attempts by other means than radio to carry messages of hope and of the possibility of eventual liberation to the nations which are now enslaved; it conducts studies of the laws, customs and cultures of these nations as they existed prior to Soviet occupation; and it documents the changes which have been imposed by the Soviet so that if the time should come when the people rise against their conquerors, they may more easily establish continuity with their past.

In all of this work the Committee draws information and support from many sources -- from those who have escaped and who must remain anonymous for fear of reprisals on their families at home, from those in this country who wish to work voluntarily for the cause of freedom abroad, from the American people at large, and from government agencies who, in the American tradition, give all possible aid to private citizens engaged in a public cause.

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Fund raising for the Committee is done by a subsidiary, the Crusade for Freedom which, in the course of raising money, also helps to keep before the American people and people throughout the world the need for spreading the idea of freedom. For example, the Freedom Bell, which now rings regularly over the City of Berlin, was the gift of sixteen million Americans who contributed to the Crusade for Freedom. All in all, signatures and voluntary donations from more than twenty-five million Americans have come to the Crusade for Freedom to date. Generous contributions have also been made to the Committee by private foundations, and payments have been received from interested government agencies for which the Committee has undertaken special projects.

A Board of Directors consisting of prominent American citizens from all walks of life determine the policies and supervise the operations of the Committee.

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ER-2-8556

30 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations

FROM: Deputy Director Central Intelligence

Attached is the proposed statement to be issued by NCFE in the event that their cover is blown. I am not very happy with it and suggest that we try to improve it. I have sent a copy to Frank Wisner.

ALLEN W. DULLES

Encl.

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SECURITY INFORMATION

19 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: National Committee for a Free Europe

1. I am naturally disturbed by the report which has reached me as to your attitude on the National Committee for a Free Europe, as expressed to the Inspector General at a meeting last week which I was unable to attend because of absence from the city.

2. This attitude, as described to me, was that you knew very little about NCFE but that you had the general impression that it was rather loosely handled from an administrative and policy control standpoint. I do not wish to go into the history of NCFE control by CIA and be accused of casting aspersions on its handling in the past. I do think, however, that your allegations may be correct so far as the past is concerned.

3. As of the present, however, I want you to know that Mr. Durkee and I, with very able assistance from members of Mr. Durkee's staff, are doing our level best to set up agreed upon procedures for administrative, financial and policy control and reporting. With the best objectivity I can muster, I think that your responsibility over the National Committee for a Free Europe is now being ably discharged.

4. I would like at your convenience to go over the new arrangements that have been made and to bring you completely up to date on the activities of the Committee, as well as to get your instructions as to a system of making such periodic reports to you in the future. This briefing might well take the form of a preliminary budget review and I suggest that the division heads of NCFE might be brought down to make progress reports to you in the briefing room. I am hopeful that after such a meeting you will feel not only conversant with the present arrangements and activities of the Committee but that they will, with modifications you may wish to

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suggest, have your full approval, and that consequently you will wish to make some statement at an early staff meeting indicating your satisfaction with these plans. Otherwise, I very much fear that the prevalent attitude within OPC which is one of general dissatisfaction with NCFE based largely on inadequate understanding of what the Committee is doing may prejudice the work that with your concurrence I brought Bill Durkee here to do.

Thomas Braden
THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - IO/TONIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

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Security Information

Executive Registry
2-1200

19 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

You will be interested in the attached letter from Matthew Woll resigning from NCFE. We were forewarned of this some weeks ago by Jay and others.

We will be in touch with NCFE with respect to the form of their answer if they decide to make one.

ALLEN W. DULLES

Encl.

cc: DD/P
C/IO

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FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE
Labor League for Human Rights
Box 65, Radio City Station
New York 19, N. Y.

May 13, 1952

Admiral H. B. Miller, President
National Committee for Free Europe, Inc.
110 West 57th Street
New York City

Dear Admiral Miller:

Your Committee has decided that "its interest and work lie in labor relations chiefly in Europe and not in the United States."

We disagree with your policy which we are convinced is wrong.

You have translated your new policy into action by dismissing our active representative, Henry Kirsch, whose work had won your own as well as general hearty acclaim and brought great credit to your organization. I might add that this dismissal came after an agreement in Paris by your former President and now Vice-Chairman with our European representative, Irving Brown, and your own European representative, Leon Dennen, to have Mr. Kirsch head your Labor Division.

Furthermore, we had been assured by Mr. Berle that Mr. Kirsch would not be dismissed without first giving us an opportunity to study specific complaints and cause for said discharge. This promise has likewise not been kept.

In view of the above, there can be no point in my continuing membership in your body. I, therefore, herewith tender my resignation to take effect immediately.

Sincerely yours,

SIGNED
MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman
International Labor Relations
Com. and Free Trade Union
Committee, AFL

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Security Information

MEMORANDUM TO: CHIEF, IO

SUBJECT: Albanian Students at the Free Europe University

REFERENCE: Secret Memorandum dated 24 April 1952 to Deputy Chief, SE/PC from Chief, IO, subject: Future of Strasbourg Free Europe University Students

1. We appreciate receiving the information on the two Albanian students now attending the Free Europe University at Strasbourg which was forwarded in reference.

2. We have now received a report from the field which indicates that Koste Xhajanka is connected with the Albanian Legation in Paris.

3. We would like very much to know the background of this man's acceptance at the Free Europe University, including how and where his application was made; whether his acceptance was on the basis of his scholastic record alone or on the basis of recommendations; if the latter, whose; and any other details available. It would be appreciated if you could inquire into this matter for us.

4. Since requesting that favorable consideration be given to the application of Ramis Qira, we have received a report which indicates that he too has been connected with the Albanian IS. It is requested that steps be taken to ensure that his application be disapproved.

5. It has also been reported that a Kalem Golemi, also covertly employed by the Albanian Legation in Paris, has applied for admission to the Free Europe University.

6. All of these reports appear to indicate that an effort is being made by the Albanian Government to place their agents in the Free Europe University. If this is true, no doubt other satellite countries will follow the same policy. It is suggested that the authorities of Free Europe University be warned and advised to screen carefully the students being admitted and to refuse admission to people about whom there is any question.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

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Security Information

14 May

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, IO

SUBJECT: Albanian Desk of RFE

REFERENCE: Secret Memorandum dated 1 April 1952, to Mr. Campbell, EE, from Mr. Marcy, EE, same subject. (Attached)

1. It may be that Mr. Dosti was aware that there was little possibility that either Mr. Skendi or Mr. Chekrezi would be willing to become head of the Albanian Desk of RFE and that he hoped his third choice of one of the Jakovas would therefore be accepted. However, we do not consider that this is any proof that Mr. Dosti has sold out to Zog.

2. Mr. Dosti is rather easily influenced and has been impressed by the Jakovas and their position in emigre circles in New York City. Consequently, there is no doubt he would like to be in the position of sponsoring the Jakovas and we believe he sincerely felt one of them would make a good head for the Albanian Desk of RFE.

3. We agree with EE/State that no consideration should be given to offering either Jakova a position with RFE and with their description of the couple; our attitude has been made known to RFE on several occasions during the past six months.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

Dureu has original.

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Security Information

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14 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe

The following may be helpful in today's briefing of Mr. Hedden.

1. RFE is presently broadcasting about 135 hours a week to Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Hungaria, and Czechoslovakia.

2. To date approximately $8,500,000 have been invested in capital radio facilities including housing. About $10,000,000 have been spent in radio operations to date over and above capital costs.

3. About 1144 people are presently employed in Munich and 226 are presently employed in Portugal at the relay facility.

a. A technical operating survey of these facilities was recently conducted by Westinghouse radio and technical experts. They evaluated as excellent both the facilities and the operating program. A copy of this report is attached.

b. The effectiveness of broadcasts from a psychological warfare point of view is considerable, as far as can be determined with interviews with escapees, State Department officials behind the Curtain, and Soviet attacks including jamming. RFE has also been surveyed by a key official of the Psychological Strategy Board with the conclusion that it is one of the most effective U.S. psychological warfare efforts and should without question be continued.

c. The risk taken to invest several million dollars in capital facilities in Germany is a calculated one -- fully recognized and discussed at length at a recent PRC meeting. It is considered a reasonable risk under the circumstances. The understandings reached with representatives of the German government are considered to be as good as can be worked out at this time.

4. Mr. William Durkee, Chief of the National Committees Branch/IO, plans to make an inspection trip to Europe leaving May 23 to visit RFE facilities. On his return it is expected that we will have additional first hand information to report to you.

EMMONS B. BROWN
Executive Officer
International Organizations Division

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MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Communist Infiltration of RFE

REFERENCE: Confidential Memorandum dated 24 October from Al Freeman to Foy Kohler

1. On 2 November 1951 you told us of certain charges you had heard that RFE was being infiltrated.

2. Similar charges have been made by others. We therefore asked NCFE to investigate these charges and we also turned them over to our own Security Officers. I am attaching for your information a letter which contains the results of the investigation made by NCFE. You will observe that the specific charges made against Ingenieur Halik and Kristina Kamlerova are not answered but we believe the enclosed constitutes an answer to the general charge of infiltration of the Czechoslovakian desk, as the major figures involved are dealt with fully.

3. If, subsequently, our own investigation in which Halik and Ramlerova will be dealt with brings to light any new facts or fails to corroborate any of the facts stated in the enclosure, we will take action immediately and will also keep you informed.

FRANK G. WISNER

Enclosure
Ltr 25 Apr with
Exhibits from NCFE

CIO:TWB/eh
(8 May 1952)

Orig & 1 - Addressee
1 cc - IO/TONIC
2 cc - E.R. (1 for DD/P)
1 cc - EE
1 cc - I&S (Mr. Cotter)
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

14-00000

10 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: IO/TDMIC - Miss Stern

SUBJECT: Memorandum on Reorganization of Bulgarian National Committee dated April 23, 1952

1. I am disturbed by the fact indicated in this memorandum that the State Department, namely Campbell, is attempting to lay down the line almost to the precise language which Admiral Miller uses with the political refugees.

2. It seems to me at some time or other that somebody will have to tell Campbell that while it is the State Department's job to make policy, the only way NCFE can possibly conform to Campbell's ideas is to appoint Campbell to deal with exiles and ask him whether he wants a job.

3. I have a feeling that this is going to come to a head one of these days and I wish you would build up a little file on Campbell and his efforts in this direction.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Subject memo.

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
2 cc - CIO

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SECURITY INFORMATION

9 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division

SUBJECT: Letters of Mr. C. D. Jackson Concerning Possible Communist Disturbances Among Hungarian Emigres.

REFERENCE: Your memorandum, above subject, 25 April 1952.

1. In compliance with your request, the allegations contained in Mr. Jackson's letters pertaining to Az Ember and Ferenc Göndör have been forwarded to the FBI.

2. On the Hennyey case, it has been ascertained that the files of this Office contain considerable data relative to Hennyey's background and activities. There is no information of a derogatory nature in these files, however, to explain a refusal to issue a visa. No record appears of information being furnished either to the State Department or to the Immigration and Naturalization Service by CIA on Hennyey. OSO is now in process of preparing a reply to a query from the Immigration and Naturalization Service on him. OSO is, therefore, at a loss to offer an explanation of Hennyey's visa difficulties.

[illegible]

LYMAN B. KIRKPATRICK
Assistant Director
Special Operations

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Durkee has original

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2-9187

[illegible] GY [illegible]
708 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C.

May 7, 1952

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PRESENT: Mr. W. J. Scripps, Detroit News
Dr. Allen
Mr. Norberg
Mr. Korns

After arranging an appointment through his cousin, Senator Moody, Mr. Scripps called on the Director to discuss his proposal for a "Friendship Balloon Lift." Certain materials relating to this proposal had previously been transmitted to the Director by Mr. Allen Dulles.

In reply to questioning, Mr. Scripps asserted that he was well acquainted with the NCFE Winds of Freedom campaign, in which he had participated, but that he had not discussed his present proposal with NCFE. He said he had talked to many American business men, who were all enthusiastic and were prepared to donate the variety of products which he proposes should be included in the payloads. He said that his father was an ardent supporter of the project, along with a Mr. Fletcher, Vice President of the Caterpillar Tractor Company and Dr. Barnett. Mr. Fletcher spent some time in Russia, he said. When asked whether Caterpillar was in the balloon business, Mr. Scripps said no.

Other names mentioned by Mr. Scripps as being familiar with his proposal included Nick Naradi, identified as an ex-minister of the Hungarian Government; Frank Jewitt of General Mills (which holds a balloon research contract with the Office of Naval Research), who has given him a letter to an admiral; an Admiral Miller; and a Mr. Frank of CIA. (see below) Mr. Scripps also mentioned a Psychological Equipment Development Office located in the old Post Office building. (see below)

Mr. Scripps was troubled by security problems. It was apparent that he felt he had obtained confidential information from certain government sources which he could not disclose. At the same time, he stated that in order to work out his proposal in any detail, he would need access to information presently denied him. Therefore, he suggested that he be cleared for security by the appropriate agency.

As a result, it proved impossible to nail down the technical aspects of Mr. Scripps' proposal. In his formal presentation, he had described a balloon capable of carrying a 40-pound payload and costing $5. In his conversation, he mentioned a vehicle capable of carrying 300 to 800 pounds, together with a staggered release mechanism--without

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SECURITY INFORMATION

price. To questions as to whether either type was in existence, Mr. Scripps replied that he was bound by confidences. In general, however, he did not foresee any technical barriers.

When asked how he would finance his proposal, Mr. Scripps said that he would begin with private contributions, with the thought that eventually the program would be taken over by the government. He laid stress on the need for early organization (e.g. fund raising, balloon stockpiling, crew training, selection of launching sites) in order that operations could be started immediately following a decision as to their desirability. He stated that 90 days would be sufficient to prepare for operations, once he got the "green light".

Dr. Allen expressed his personal interest in the proposal, but reminded Mr. Scripps that PSB's field was strategic rather than operational, and that in an operational proposal of such complexity, PSB could only give the matter a cursory review. Therefore, Dr. Allen stated his intention to forward the proposal to the Psychological Operations Coordinating Committee, which was the proper body to give the project the detailed screening to which it was entitled. Dr. Allen also suggested that Mr. Scripps see C. D. Jackson.

Mr. Norberg then suggested that as an additional aid Mr. Scripps prepare a brief but fairly specific description of what he personally was prepared to do, along with an outline of the organization which would be needed to carry out the project. Mr. Scripps said that he would do so within the next week.

COMMENT

Joe Frank, when asked about Mr. Scripps, said he had met him several times between December 1950 and February, 1951. During this period of early planning for balloon operations, Frank said that Scripps proved quite helpful by quieting certain private enthusiasts, in addition to maintaining a discreet silence himself. Frank did not know for a fact that Mr. Scripps participated in the August operation, but judged that it was likely. In Frank's opinion, Scripps is a capable person with valuable connections in the business world and sufficient financial independence to be able to devote most of his time to good works. Frank thinks it would be a good idea to have him cleared as a consultant.

The Psychological Equipment Development Office mentioned by Mr. Scripps is believed to be the Physical Security Equipment Agency, a military development agency operated by the Air Force under an OSD charter. Its director is Col. H. M. McCoy. This agency is prepared to talk with anyone who has been cleared for security; otherwise individuals are asked to approach the services first.

Distribution:
Dr. Allen
Mr. Sherman
Mr. Norberg
Mr. Gates Lloyd ✓

C:WAKorns:ms

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Security Information

Executive Registry
2-8852

7 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director, Plans

FROM: Deputy Director Central Intelligence

1. In the course of a long conversation with C. D. Jackson and John Hughes on Thursday evening, 1 May, they raised a number of questions about NCFE, including the question as to whether Gearing could be made available for their work. Confidentially, they feel that Miller who is excellent on the administrative side will be badly in need of someone at his right hand who knows the political situation in Europe and the type of thing that cannot be learned by a few trips or a few books.

2. I told them that the Gearing problem was difficult, that we were considering it and hoped to come up with some answer in the near future.

cc: Mr. Braden

SECRET
Security Information

6 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION

ATTENTION: Mr. Thomas Braden

SUBJECT: Liaison with NCFE

1. This memorandum will confirm the discussion between Mr. Thomas Braden, Chief, IOD, Mr. William Durkee, IOD and Mr. Prichett of SE/PC, on Thursday, 1 May, wherein it was agreed that shortly after Admiral Miller's return from Europe on or about 7 May, Mr. Braden would work out with NCFE the details of establishing limited liaison between the Chiefs of the Albanian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian Branches of SE/PC, and their opposite numbers at the New York office of NCFE. The above arrangement would be only a complement to the main liaison channel with NCFE which will remain through Mr. John Leich. It would, however, expedite action in situations where minor guidance is required in matters relating to the handling of the Albanian, Bulgarian and Rumanian Committees and where a precipitate unilateral decision on the part of the NCFE desk officer concerned might affect adversely CIA plans or operations.

2. It was generally agreed that to establish the relationship only the following need be arranged:

a. A brief covert introductory meeting between the respective country desk Chiefs during which the SE/PC Branch Chief could outline, in as far as was appropriate, the aims of the CIA program and after which mutual difficulties could be discussed and joint courses of action determined.

b. Establishment of an emergency link through a sterile CIA telephone which would permit secure liaison in special situations.

c. Institution of a system of preparing detailed Memoranda of Conversation for Mr. Braden's office in every instance where there was contact between an NCFE desk officer and his SE/PC opposite number.

3. Should any assistance be required from SE/PC in establishing this relationship Mr. Prichett, SE/PC/PO (Extension 3974) may be called.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

14-00000

SECRET
Security Information

6 May 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: C/IO

SUBJECT: Termination of Contract between Mr. Henry F. Landowski and the National Committee for a Free Europe.

1. It would be appreciated if IO would assist this division by requesting from the National Committee for a Free Europe an agreement terminating the contract between the NCFE and Mr. Henry F. Landowski, signed 1 October 1951. Mr. Landowski's employment with CIA is being terminated and it is desired that for reasons of administrative regularity and considerations of security his contract with NCFE also be terminated.

2. In working out the phrasing of the termination agreement it is desirable that the following points be included:

a. The contract being terminated is that signed 1 October 1951 by Mr. Landowski on the one hand and Mr. Spencer Phenix for the NCFE.

b. It should be stated that the contract is being terminated "by mutual agreement" and that all benefits and obligations devolving upon the two parties are cancelled.

c. It is very desirable that this document also be signed by Mr. Phenix, who signed the original contract agreement for the NCFE.

3. If three copies of this termination agreement signed by the NCFE are returned to this office we will have Mr. Landowski sign and return a copy for the NCFE files.

4. It is our understanding that there is only one contract between Mr. Landowski and the NCFE, namely that of 1 October 1951. Mr. Landowski assures us that this is the only contract he has signed with the NCFE. However, it is possible that there may be a misunderstanding on this point by NCFE. Therefore it might be well to ask NCFE if they believe Mr. Landowski

to have

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Security Information

Orig to Durkee 5 May

SECRET
Security Information

to have any other written obligations to them and if so, specifically to include all such in the termination agreement.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

SECRET
Security Information

-5 RR 9553

McCAMPBELL & COMPANY
INCORPORATED
Forty Worth Street
New York 13, N.Y.

April 28, 1952

Dear Frank,

I found the attached memorandum of real interest as providing a clear-cut explanation of a matter relating to N.C.F.E. which you are doubtless asked about from time to time. It occurred to me that you might like to have this as covering the basic policy used in the selection and employment of exile personnel for various branches, particularly for the work of Radio Free Europe. To my mind it provides an answer to inquiries which come to us and others as to how and why such personnel is chosen.

Since Mix Miller is away and won't be back for several weeks I am taking the liberty of sending this copy to you in his absence. He and others at 57th Street read it before he went away and endorsed it.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

John Hughes

14-00000

NCFE EXILE PERSONNEL SELECTION IN RELATION TO
(1) EXILE POLITICS,
(2) RFE BROADCAST POLICY, AND
(3) EXTERNAL CRITICISM

- I -

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY

A. Formative Stage

At its inception, the National Committee for a Free Europe believed that its Iron Curtain broadcasting operation, Radio Free Europe, could and should be developed and pursued through the medium of "National Councils" or "Committees of Liberation" composed of exile groups from the target countries. It was considered that prominent exile leaders and personalities of each nationality group could express to their captive countrymen, entirely without American advice and guidance, the message of hope which NCFE proposed to send. This concept was not fulfilled. Experience in attempting to weld a talented, dedicated group of exiles into a non-partisan broadcasting operation early demonstrated that without American control the mission of RFE would be lost in the jungle of exile-world politics. It soon became evident that the leadership among the exiles was neither sufficiently strong nor personally willing to rise above the political cross currents, factional rivalries, and splinter-group weaknesses characteristically reminiscent of the political affairs of all Eastern European countries. These factors militated against the original plan of permitting

exiles, through their loosely organized Councils or Committees, to wholly develop, manage, and control RFE broadcasting.

Since the advent of RFE was the most important development affecting the exiles which had occurred since their flight from home, they quickly understood and applauded its implications and potential effect on their futures. Through this instrument they could once again become prominent and powerful in the affairs of the homeland; once more they could contend for place and power.

Selection of personnel for the purpose at hand quickly became a political football of rival leaders, personalities, and groups. Rightists, Leftists, Centrists, Labor Elements, and Splinter-groups argued with us for advancement of their particular personal or political views. Sponsorship of their own adherents as RFE employees through whom such views would be broadcast to their captive countrymen became the pattern of their pseudo cooperation. This pattern was followed to such an extent that ordinary progress and sensible development of our basic purpose of truly free broadcasts under exile control soon appeared to be not only impracticable, but dangerous. For example, the National Councils Division attempted to inaugurate broadcasts to Czechoslovakia under the auspices of a Czechoslovak National Council. The Council was and is made up of exile personalities of differing political views and parties. Its factions proceeded to engage in endless disputes and irreconcilable claims for control of script production and program content. Slovak "Separatists" arguing for the total independence of Slovakia

14-00000

sought that objective, while Czechs desired opposite views to be aired and advocated the rebirth of pre-war Czeshoslovakia. Each group sponsored and insisted upon employment of its own more or less qualified adherents upon the assumption that its special views would be thereby expressed to the captive Czechoslovak audience of RFE. Similar activities were pursued by Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Poles until the futility of permitting the exile Councils to control the destiny and broadcasting policies of RFE was made clear beyond refutation. It became tragically obvious that uncontrolled exile-world Councils and professional politicians could not agree on personnel selection or program content.

In spite of every effort to induce harmony in and obtain proper cooperation from the "Councils", "Committees", and individuals, RFE was confronted with an impasse. The alternative theory and present policy of American selection of non-political exile personnel was the only way out. It has worked. Technically qualified personnel produce properly oriented programs -- and have been doing so with documented success since July, 1950. Disappointed exile politicians, professional exile camp followers, disturbed American special pleaders, and alarmed Communist Agents all scream, snipe and snivel -- but RFE programs are doing the job.

NCFE-RFE records of this stage can be supplied by Frederic R. Dolbeare, Vice-President, National Councils Division, and Robert E. Lang, Director, RFE. The current policy has the complete endorsement of these officers and of the Board of Directors of NCFE.

B. Development Stage

Upon the collapse of the original concept of broadcasting under exile auspices, RFE necessarily utilized some exile personnel endorsed and recommended by the leaders of the various nationality groups. As technical radio facilities came into being, exiles with radio background or writing talent were required for the production of programs. This involved using individuals eminently qualified by experience to do a radio job of script writing, announcing, acting, etc. without regard for the fact that such individuals might be at odds with one or another political faction or leader of an exile "Council". It also involved elimination of proven inefficient, inept or unworthy individuals without regard for their exile "Council" sponsorship. In either instance criticism of RFE was predictable and indeed was always forthcoming -- often in virulent and dishonest form.

The day to day operation of RFE developed new techniques and long range plans which made it impossible to employ non-entities of no political color or conviction. The best people to produce programs in harmony with NCFE-RFE purposes and policies necessarily were persons known in their own countries for their views on domestic political affairs and their anti-Communist activities. Hard-hitting propaganda required hard-hitting personalities whose known association with RFE and its programs would add validity and significance for our captive audiences. Gradually, therefore, the nationality desks of RFE at New York and Munich were staffed with tested, qualified exiles who had been

identified publicly with domestic political philosophies at issue in their own countries. Many, in fact most of the staff people are controversial figures among their own countrymen in exactly the same way that prominent Americans are controversial in our political arena. Many indeed are members of the Councils, but are men of sufficient stature to give their primary allegiance to the non-partisan policy of RFE. The decisive factor is that there be no controversy or question about their anti-Communist convictions and records.

At this point, it must be noted that our target countries have been subject to repetitive political ferment prior to and following World War II, as well as the successive occupations of Nazi and Communist Armies.

The temper of the times, therefore, in which these exiles have lived for the past fifteen years has been one of excitement, bitterness, recrimination, rivalries, and personal turmoil -- all stemming from both domestic and foreign struggles for power. The times have produced a bumper crop of refugee traitors, collaborators, and opportunists and at the same time have developed pure Western style democrats, true national patriots, and unselfish honest men. The exile who stood by placidly through the era is not much good, however talented, as a militant messenger of hope via RFE; exiles who were honorably active in public affairs at home and who had radio talent were, therefore, the only kind of personnel suitable for RFE purposes.

As the necessity for American operational control of nationality desks became self-evident, the only feasible personnel policy was to

employ properly qualified individuals, regardless of exile politics. In the execution of this policy individuals who were useless were eliminated without regard for political sponsors. This process still goes on. Similarly, talented exile personalities recruited from any source were employed wherever needed. This process still goes on. Both processes are in vogue with a healthy disregard for exile political nuances and protests. Neither process is satisfactory to self-styled exile leaders, since it follows that the appointment of an individual sponsored by one faction as a representative of its views inevitably will evoke howls of rage and criticism from the opposite faction. This is an accepted fact of exile life. We have to live with it and get on with the job.

C. Summary

Our formative and development experiences evolved the present and continuing exile personnel policies of RFE. Exile desk employees, whether at New York or Munich, must respond to three tests:

(a) Security clearance,
(b) Endorsement of technical proficiency,
(c) Sufficient stature to eliminate exile partisan interests from program content.

- II -

CRITERIA AND METHODS OF PERSONNEL SELECTION

A. Recruitment — General Principles

The best source of exile personnel is referral by "non-professional" exiles themselves. Among all nationalities there are

many talented refugees who need employment and who can supply RFE's need for script writers, actors, announcers, etc. Accordingly, desk staffing has been accomplished by examining the qualifications of duly recommended individuals, whether the recommendations come from political personalities or otherwise. Selection is based on the ability of the individual to fill a need efficiently in turning out or participating in planned programs. Recruitment is determined only by ideological security, independence of exile politics, and personal ability. This is not to say that many individual exiles having decided personal convictions and well-known political records are not employed, but a positive statement is made that those exile employees now produce RFE programs reflect the policies and guidance of RFE rather than promotion of partisan objectives and personalities.

B. Recruitment -- Detailed Procedures

The personnel complement of each RFE nationality desk is founded on a hard core of dependable individuals, usually two or three people, including the chief of the desk. "Dependability" is established by exhaustive inquiry at all available sources to establish the desirability, reliability, technical proficiency and security of the working core of the desk. Sources used are:

(a) Exile political personalities in the United States,
(b) Exile references of high standing and known impartiality in the United States and Overseas,
(c) Overseas contacts and personal knowledge of our American representative in Europe (Royall Tyler-Paris),
(d) Checks and balances of our political advisor at Munich (W.E. Griffith),

(e) British Broadcasting Corporation, where applicable,
(f) Voice of America, where applicable,
(g) Special confidential sources.

These tests having been applied, confidence is placed in these initial personalities, and particularly in the Desk Chief, to carry forward recruitment of additional personnel as needed in collaboration with the American Director of RFE (Robert E. Lang, New York) and his associate officials. The leading personalities of each desk know what is expected of them and since they respond to the established criteria, the resulting full personnel complement is a group of exiles who, notwithstanding their personal political views, are suitable and capable program production people. They meet our basic requirement of daily production of truly free and properly constructed propaganda broadcasts capable of evoking the widest possible audience response in our target countries.

In brief, the mission of RFE being conceived as a marketing problem, the best available salesmen are procured, trained, and utilized to sell the market.

C. Recruitment -- Special Security Measures

Since RFE, although a private enterprise, is by extension a collateral instrument of American national policy, special precaution is exercised to insure the ideological security of all employees, including exiles. In the case of exile personnel specifically, the

additional approval of the Personnel Director of NCFE is required before employment either at New ~~York or~~ Munich. Thus, even if a proposed exile employee meets all the described criteria, he may not be employed without this ultimate approval.

The Personnel Director of NCFE utilizes appropriate and dependable sources of information to determine the acceptability of personnel from a security standpoint. His sources are investigative in nature and are conclusive as to the ideological record and security acceptability of the proposed employee. In doubtful cases the Personnel Director consults with the Vice-President in Charge of the National Councils Division and with the Director of Radio Free Europe. These three officers of NCFE jointly follow a policy of rejecting candidates about whom there is the slightest doubt. It is to be clearly understood that in making decisions of this kind the conflicting interests and frantic representatiions of politically-minded exile leaders and groups are ignored. Acceptance or rejection of candidates is wholly based on ideological security and talent value.

D. Summary

(1) All nationality desks of RFE at New York and Munich are staffed by individuals who have passed all tests described above.

(2) All programs produced and aired by the nationality desks are checked and scrutinized by American supervisory personnel for ideological content, audience acceptance and conformity to basic NCFE-RFE policies.

(3) These conditions have been progressively in force since July, 1950.

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III

RFE POLICY GUIDANCE FOR PERSONNEL

A. General Comment

The programs aired by RFE are not left to whim or chance. All programs and the personnel responsible for them are controlled by a written policy manual. The manual sets forth in minute detail the position and policy of RFE on every topic beamed to our target countries. The manual is the daily guidance of all employees, both American and Exile; deviation from its rules is not permitted. Continuous scrutiny of manuscripts and resultant broadcasts is maintained by American employees to insure that there are no deviations.

The policy manual of RFE represents the considered views of the responsible officials, including the Board of Directors, of NCFE. It is a statement of the principles and purposes of NCFE expressed in operational form. It is considered and maintained as strictly confidential document, but it is of course available for examination by any proper authority.

The policy manual is in strict conformity with current American national policies as evidenced by the following quotation from Article One:

> "As a non-governmental radio station responsible to the millions of American citizens who support it, RFE cannot take a line contrary to United States Government policy or to the beliefs of the American people reflected in the Constitution of the United States and in American Institutions.".

The above quotation is understood by exile personnel particularly to be a solemn injunction against ideological program content which in any way violates the letter and spirit of American policy and ideals. It is a guarantee to the American people and to our captive listeners that RFE and the men who make its programs are uncompromisingly opposed to the Communist regimes now in power in Soviet Russia and the satellite countries.

B. <u>RFE Policy Defined by Handbook</u> (<u>Direct Quotations</u>)

1. The purpose of RFE is to contribute to the liberation of the Nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain by sustaining their morale and stimulating in them a spirit of non-cooperation with the Soviet-dominated regimes by which they are, for the time being, ruled.

2. The central characteristic of RFE is that it is the instrument of men who are engaged in fighting for freedom and justice. As such, it encourages resistance to every tyrant, great and small, in the countries it addresses. Its speakers speak -- as men of good will who seek to contribute to the elimination of old enmities and the building of an enduring European democratic order.

3. As a free forum in which exiles speak to their own poeple RFE is particularly dedicated to arguments by which exiles seek to persuade their listeners of all devouring ambitions of Soviet Imperialism, the cruelty and unworkability of Communist Institutions,

and the proven advantages of the democratic way of life for the worker, and the peasant, the administrator, and the business and professional strata of society.

4. RFE takes counsel with exile leaders and is respectful of their views, but its policy is not designed to further the aspirations of any single exile leader or party.

5. RFE policy is further based upon acceptance of the principle that each of the liberated peoples shall be free to determine for itself the political and social institutions under which it will live once it has been liberated.

6. Finally, the following summary in the nature of a specific limitation on program content is quoted:

> "It is indispensable that all concerned grasp clearly that RFE is a multi-national station established to contribute to the liberation of all the peoples it addresses, and not merely of one of those peoples. RFE policy is therefore commanded by the limitation that nothing may be said over its facilities to one national audience which will destroy the confidence in RFE of its other audiences or which is likely to induce any of its audiences to prefer communist rule to a liberation which might appear to promise domination by a neighboring people."

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

28 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION
DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)
DEPUTY DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed NCFE Support on the Exile Organized Refugee Aid Committee in France

REFERENCE: Letter Dated 20 March 1952 from Marc to Willa, Enclosing 27 January 1952 Report on the Exile Organized Refugee Aid Committee in France, from Roger L. Bull.

1. The reference, recently forwarded to us by NCFE, recommends NCFE support for organized refugee relief committees in Paris. As a follow-up, Miss Mary Augustine, of NCFE's New York staff, is currently surveying refugee organizations in Western Europe. When the results of this survey have been given to us, we plan—in conjunction with the interested area desks—to prepare a study with recommendations concerning the utilization of exile committees in Europe.

2. In the meantime, the reference is forwarded for your information.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment 1
As stated above

Distribution:
Addressees - original
CIO - 1
IO/TONIC - 1
RI - 2

SECRET

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SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

28 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT P. JOYCE
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Future Balloon Operation

1. Attached is a copy of a letter from Min Miller in which he suggests the necessity of coming to a definite decision in respect to a future balloon operation.

2. Will you advise me as to (a) whether you wish to have a balloon operation in August or at any subsequent date, and (b) whether you want us to set aside funds and materials now for a future balloon operation at some unspecified time?

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Ltr from Min Miller
dtd 1 Apr 52

CIO:TWB:eh

Orig & 1 - Addressee
1 cc - IO/TCXIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

In reply refer to: W·2016

28 April 1952

Dear Spencer:

Here is a brief of the material that is wanted in respect to the slave labor issue.

This is of great importance, as you can well imagine, but for your information we find ourselves in something of a box on this because having pressed for the hearings, it is essential to gather good evidence and not be embarrassed by something we have fought to obtain.

I hope, therefore, that you will give it your top consideration and let me know if you can come up with anything. In addition to the kinds of evidence listed here, you will note that private organisations may testify.

Sincerely,

Oliver E. Hadwood

Enclosures
2 Memoranda 14 Apr 52

CIO:TWB:eh

Orig - Spencer Phenix
1 cc - IO ExO.
1 cc - IO/TOMIC
2 cc - CIO ✓
2 cc - RI

see chrono for 2d endosure

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

14 April 1952

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Gathering Evidence on Slave Labor Issue - to be presented Ecosoc Hearings

A. Type of evidence that is desired:

1. Scholarly studies - Laws, administrative regulations showing the de jure and de facto application of laws pertaining to labor.

2. Documentary evidence - Passes, identity cards, ration cards, release papers, etc. Anything indicating the place, name of camp, administrative documents, etc. Photostatic copies accepted if the original is unavailable for retention. Seals, stamps, and signatures desirable.

3. Testimonial

a. Written testimony - probably in the form of answers to a questionnaire. These testimonials may be either:

(1) Anonymous. (As few as possible)

(2) Authorized use of the name, either confidentially, for release only before the court, where many sessions will be closed to the public, or the name may be released to the public.

b. Tape recordings - Some excellent testimonials could perhaps be tape recorded.

c. Statistical form - The bulk of this testimonial can also be reduced to a statistical form.

d. No hearsay testimony is wanted.

4. Witnesses - A few of these should be presented by each group. However, the witnesses should be most carefully chosen to insure that they are really genuine, really were in a concentration camp, and not in some internment or intermediate camp, and that they spent a considerable amount of time there, without having been convicted by due process of law. Furthermore, these witnesses should be of high caliber, highly literate, capable of presenting their story clearly, and standing up to close cross-examination, without having to alter their story.

B. Principal targets to hit: State is especially anxious that we assist by reaching those persons, and those areas hardest to reach, and on which there exists the least evidence.

1. Individuals: The persons that present the greatest interest are civilians, who have been in Soviet Concentration Camps since the last war. Soldiers are considered secondary evidence, as with them a difference must be made and clearly drawn between PW camps, and concentration camps, where soldiers and civilians both were put to work at hard labor. Well known persons who have testified before should not be used. The effort must concentrate on new evidence of recent date.

2. Areas: In order to establish clearly that the concentration camp forms an integral part of the Soviet Communist political and economic system, it is vital to prove conclusively the existence of concentration camps in all countries which have fallen under Soviet domination. Thus evidence is especially needed on the following areas:

Poland
Baltic nations
East Germany
Hungary
Rumania
Bulgaria
Albania
China
N. Korea
Russia (Material on Russia, if gathered, should be of very recent date.)

The areas in which to operate most successfully, are the following:

Sweden (Balts, Poles, Russians)
Germany (All kinds)
Trieste area (Central European refugees)
Northern Greece (Bulgarians, Rumanians)
Yugoslavia??? (They have evidence - will they cooperate?)
Eastern Turkey???
Iran (Reportedly, there are a good number of escapees, from Soviet Russia. These might be Azerbaijani, Armenians, Georgians, even Persians, providing an entirely new source of evidence.)
Hong Kong
Formosa (Reportedly a groups of former inmates here)
S. Korea (N. Korean PW's, Chinese PW's - might locate existence of camps in Korea and China).
Japan (Former PW's. Some were in Siberian Slave Labor camps.

C. Organizations which should do the work: These organizations need not have any special qualifications just so long as they are bona fide organizations. State recommends that we try to get a diversity of

such organizations to present evidence. Twenty different organizations would be an optimum to aim for. They should represent different interests, such as labor groups, veterans organizations, emigre organizations, church groups, and several of them should have an international character.

D. Your capabilities: What type of organizations do you have that could organize interrogation teams, draw up lists of persons to interview, and go out and gather the material for presentation to the hearings?

What areas could the organizations you have in mind, work in?

What national groups could they concentrate on?

How much operational support would they require from us? (Money, intelligence support)

How large are their capabilities: types of material that they can present, how thoroughly can they be expected to cover the field they are assigned? How many former inmates can they contact? 100? 200? 500?

Do they have U. S. State Department representatives in their areas to which they can turn, who would assist them in complying with all the regulations and requirements, which must be met to be accepted by the Economic and Social Council as a group which will present testimony. (It might be best if we obtained a sort of form application, which we could disseminate to the field, where necessary.)

The choosing of the organization must be done at an early date. Applications were to be in on the 31st of March, but State is certain that if they are submitted without undue delay (by mid-May) they would be accepted.

14-00000

SECURITY INFORMATION
SECRET

25 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division

SUBJECT: Continuance of Project FJSCOPE

1. Reference is made to your memorandum of 21 April 1952 regarding the desirability of continuing Project FJSCOPE, which provides a monthly allotment of $75.00 to Walter F. Kammerer for services rendered to this division.

2. Although Mr. Kammerer is used as a consultant for SE, he is called upon from time to time to furnish information outside his capacity of consultant which would not justify the payment of consultant fees.

3. It is felt that the monthly stipend of $75.00 covers these extra activities, and we should like to have Project FJSCOPE continued.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Deputy for Policy Coordination, SE

Orig to Decker
2 May rec'd

SECRET

24 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF EASTERN EUROPE

ATTENTION: Mr. O'Meara

SUBJECT: Future of Strasbourg Free Europe University Students

REFERENCE: C/IO Memorandum to C/EE of 20 March 1952, Same Subject as Above.

1. There are attached hereto lists of students, together with biographical data, of the Free Europe University, according to the national groups of your interest (Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary), as submitted to us on 14 April 1952.

2. When this information was given to us the following caveat accompanied it:

> "You realize that the families of most of these students are in most vulnerable positions behind the Iron Curtain and the information we secured from them we promised to keep strictly confidential. Of course, some of the cases can be camouflaged for public consumption but we have to keep faith with these youngsters and for that reason names can not be identified with even skeleton outlines of their careers."

3. The individual responsible for the administration of the Free Europe University has explained to us that:

> "The date of the completion of their studies in each case is impossible to furnish with any accuracy for the simple reason that French university courses are not arranged with the same exactness that characterizes the custom of American colleges and universities. On this point I can give you two bits of information. First, that in no case is it expected that any student would continue as a member of the College de l'Europe Libre for more than a maximum of three years. Also, of the present student body it is expected that 25-40 will finish their academic work at the University of Strasbourg at the end of the current university year."

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SECURITY INFORMATION

- 2 -

SECRET

Accordingly, we have requested that we be provided with a list, together with any available information regarding the political orientation and plans for the future, of the estimated 25 to 40 students who expect to complete their academic work at the end of the current University year. When this list is available we shall transmit the information to you.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Distribution:
Addressee - Original & 6
CIO - 1
IO/DOTO - 1
IO/NBV - 1 ✓ (1 cc given Nancy)
RI - 2

CIO/NBV:bw

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

24 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Contact Division, OO

SUBJECT: Your Memorandum 29 February 1952 on "Hungarian Exile Activities"

I was interested in your report on Nagy and his efforts to set up a Hungarian Government-in-Exile. I note in paragraph 5 that you say your contact is hoping to receive more information from them. Since I think this situation has been cleared up by other events, I would not want you to press your contact to stir Nagy to further action by a request for more information. If, however, Nagy does give you more information, we should very much like to see it.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - COD/OPC
1 cc - IO/DDIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Robert P. Joyce
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: State Department Paper on "The Functions of NCFE and RFE"

1. Thank you for forwarding to us the State Department memorandum on the functions of NCFE and RFE. I am sorry that there has been a delay in replying to it. The chief reason has been our effort to obtain a written statement of position from the NCFE Executive Board, and particularly from Robert Lang, the Director of RFE. After long considering the matter, Lang has expressed a desire to talk personally with you about the subject, and I understand that since the elapsed time he has had one opportunity for a conference with you on the problem. I agree with the view you expressed to him -- that there ought to be further conferences -- but nevertheless want you to know our own views without further delay.

2. I think that there is a basic element of misunderstanding in the State Department paper. That is the idea which seems to me to be implicit in it that the exiles do not broadcast. In fact, the exiles do all the broadcasting. By and large, these men are not political figures but technicians, writers and newsmen having somewhat the same training and point of view as those who do similar work for American companies. Frequently, also, exile leaders from within the National Councils are asked to make personal broadcasts. This practice will continue. All in all, so great is the exile domination of RFE broadcasts that in many instances these broadcasts have taken on the tone and coloration of indigenous radio in the countries to which they are aimed. Wherever possible, that is the aim of RFE -- to compete within each country as an indigenous national station.

3. In addition, even allowing, however, for this misunderstanding, as I believe it to be, the State Department paper presents a point of view with which I cannot agree. This is that the National Councils could in practice be placed in charge of RFE. I am almost

certain they could not be. No statement made by RFE, no line of policy that RFE could pursue, no suggestion or propaganda line that RFE could follow could be done in the name of the National Councils so long as the members of each Council are incapable of reaching a group decision or of reaching a majority decision which the minority would not attempt to subvert. It seems to me that there is only historical value in talking about what the original concept of the National Councils was. The concept has changed, and the change was necessary to correspond to the fact. The fact is the inability of each National Council to speak as a single voice.

4. Without further discussion, therefore, I am unprepared to ask RFE to make a major change in its policy such as the State Department paper suggests. I understand that you and Mr. Braden have agreed with Admiral Miller and Mr. Lang to discuss this problem thoroughly with the people who are concerned in the State Department and I hope that after these discussions we may reach an agreement on the matters which the paper raises.

FRANK G. WISNER

CIC:TWB/eh
(24 Apr 52)

Orig & 1 - Addressee
2 cc - S.R. (1 for DD/P)
1 cc - ADPC
1 cc - CIO
1 cc - IO/PMIC
1 cc - EE/OPC
1 cc - SE/OPC
2 cc - RI

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Robert P. Joyce
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Testimony of Adolph A. Berle, Jr.
on behalf of Nicolae Malaxa

1. Thank you for your memorandum of 14 March 1952 transmitting to us Mr. Campbell's memorandum of 13 March regarding the testimony of Adolph A. Berle Jr. on behalf of Nicolae Malaxa. This is to inform you that we are in complete agreement with the views which you and Mr. Campbell have expressed.

2. We feel that it is indeed most regrettable that Mr. Berle in his testimony made certain remarks offensive to the Cretzianu-Visoianu group. In March, Mr. Grew received Mr. Cretzianu in an attempt to disclaim any responsibility on the part of [illegible] for Mr. Berle's statements and also to persuade Mr. Cretzianu that Mr. Berle had spoken in a private capacity and as attorney to Mr. Malaxa. This interview was followed by a letter from Mr. Grew to Mr. Cretzianu on 26 March, in which these same views were set forth.

3. We shall make a serious attempt to prevent the occurrence of such incidents in the future. We are returning your file as you requested.

THOMAS W. BRADEN

Enclosure
CIO/PPD/M V:blj (17/4, re-typed 21/4)
Distribution:
Orig & 1 - Addressee
1 - CIO
1 - IO/DDTO
1 - ADC
1 - [illegible]
2 - RI
[illegible] - [illegible]

14-00000

NBV

15 March

Mr Dulles told me this am that Grotzmann sent a copy of this Testimony to Mr Grew together with a letter inquiring "how come?" - Grew & AWD lunched yesterday & agreed that Beale was way off base and Grew is preparing a letter to Grotzmann telling him that Beale had no right to attack C as he did; a draft copy of this letter will go to Beale prior to mailing for his comments.

As AWD put it to me - "It's in the works & there's nothing more for us to do about it at this time" -

[Gave Mr Washburn the above by phone -]

14-00000

Mr. Lloyd   1 March 52

Mr. Fishburne C/SE/PC5
X 3091, X 495 brought this
in today: He said ~~that~~ the
DD/P is concerned about it.
Ellen was not in, but called
in at 5 and was transferred
to Mr Fishburne.

Mr. Fishburne stated that
Malaxa is a Rumanian industrialist,
a crook and an opportunist, who
cooperated with the Communists
and supported the Nazis. (Search) OSO
files is in progress ~~and~~ will be in
Mr. Fishburne's hands.) Berle's
unilateral action (~~—~~ identifying
NCFE with this cause) involves a
violation of State policy, will stir up the
exiles who will think this does

14-00000

represent US policy and is generally very bad.

What appears needed is:

(a) High-level rapping of Berle's knuckles

b) Official denial or

(c) NCFE denial of this as NCFE position

P.S. Berle is wrong in identifying Maleța as a partisan of Radescu.

Nancy

17 March

Mr. Braden:

This is another example of interference and partiality on the part of NCFE. Mr. Berle had 1) no right in testifying in this case and 2) no business endorsing the Radescu faction as against the Cretzianu-Visoianu Group.

#

Major Fishburn would like the document back today, room 1201 J.

Ellen

SECRET
Security Information

2-7043

MAR 20 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division

FROM: Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT: Testimony of Adolph A. Berle, Jr., on behalf of Nicolae Malaxa; Complaint of the State Department.

1. Please note the attached memoranda from Bob Joyce and John Campbell, dated March 14 and March 13, respectively. Will you please prepare a brief memorandum for Messrs. Joyce and Campbell informing them that we are in complete agreement with their views concerning Adolph Berle's statements, and moreover that action has been taken to inform the Cretzianu-Visoianu group that Mr. Berle had no right whatsoever to make remarks of this kind in his capacity as a member of the Board of NCFE. You can obtain the details of what has been said from Mr. Grew and Mr. Dulles in order to strengthen and round out your memorandum to Messrs. Joyce and Campbell. (It is my understanding that Mr. Grew received Mr. Cretzianu for the purpose of denying any responsibility on the part of NCFE for Mr. Berle's remarks, which he made in his private capacity and incidentally as attorney for Malaxa.) Will you please let Mr. Horton see the memorandum which you write to Messrs. Joyce and Campbell.

2. For your information, I have recently been informed by a very knowledgeable Rumanian that, in his opinion, some good has resulted out of this highly improper and messy business of Berle's. This Berle attack on Cretzianu was partially responsible, in the judgment of my informant, for Cretzianu's sudden turn-about and agreement to shake hands with and sit down beside Messrs. Gafencu and Davila. "It's an ill wind ...", etc.

Although the following question may not be entirely in your field, I should appreciate your getting up a statement for my information concerning the present status of and our proposed future use, if any, of Julius Fleischmann. I have just heard through the grapevine that he considers his usefulness to us at an end and that he is severing all connection with this Agency. This disturbs me, as I consider Mr. Fleischmann to be an intelligent and able man who has already gained enough experience in our line of endeavor to be of value to us. If my information is by any chance correct, then I do not understand why we so lightly cast him aside. I hope that I am wrong and that he may be severing official connections only to continue his work in a more subtle manner.

(SIGNED) FRANK G. WISNER

Frank G. Wisner

SECRET
Security Information

cc: DDCI
ADPC
C/SS

Attachment: Described memoranda and transcript of Berle testimony.

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

In reply refer to: W-2003

18 April 1952

Dear Min:

When you were here Wednesday, you handed me a letter from Michael E. Thompson about General Hennyey.

I have looked into this and find that Thompson promised on his last trip to Washington that he would give us certain facts about Hennyey's new visa application which were necessary when the old visa application expired on 21 March. We never have received these facts from Thompson.

Will you kindly, therefore, ask Thompson to get together for you the facts on the new visa application -- its number, where it was made, etc. -- and we will go ahead and act as we said we would. We can't act without them.

Sincerely,

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - IO/Exec Off.
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - HI

TWB Mentioned above to Adm. Miller by telephone on 17 Apr 52.
eh

SECRET

April 15, 1952

Dear Oliver:

When I last saw you, I spoke of the General Hennyey matter explaining the great importance that the Fund places on expediting the arrival of General Hennyey in this country for Fund purposes. I later mentioned this matter in detail to one of your liaison associates who has these matters in hand. I explained that it is considered imperative that all possible assistance be developed looking toward the sponsored arrival of General Hennyey in the shortest possible time. I now refer you to our letter of March 2, 1952, which I delivered in person to Mr. Abramson. That letter contains all of the necessary data for action in the case.

We have just been informed that the unconscionable delay in the processing and approval of General Hennyey's entry presently will be made the subject of public protest by elements of the Hungarian National Council. The details of this situation will be more fully explained by Leonard L. Stamm who will hand you this letter. For your convenience, I am attaching a copy of our letter of March 2 above cited, and I would further state that we believe that extraordinary action should be taken to affect the immediate processing of General Hennyey by entry permit or otherwise. Our representatives in Munich are in daily contact with General Hennyey and can be of particular assistance in the event you desire to use extraordinary means to expedite his departure for the United States.

Sincerely,

Michael E Thompson

COPY

March 2, 1952

Dear Mr. Minett:

General Gusztav Hennyey is Representative of the Hungarian National Council in Western Germany and a person in whom the Fund places trust and confidence in its dealings with the problems of the Hungarian National Council. The Fund has been desirous for some time that General Hennyey come to the United States, and believes that his visit here would be most helpful to the present activities and future of the Hungarian National Council.

An opportunity presented itself last fall for General Hennyey to emigrate to the United States as a displaced person. He was granted a visa by the Consul General in Munich on November 21, 1951, EC Number 256411, D.P. Commission Validation Number A-7037, Sponsor Mr. Louis Rado, 182 Main Street, Poughkeepsie, New York. Subsequent to the issuance of his visa his file was sent by the local representative of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Services in Munich to the Office of the Attorney General in Washington for special consideration under No. 8-CFR 17557. Neither General Hennyey nor the National Council have been able to determine why his case has been held in suspense, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Indeed, in response to one inquiry General Hennyey was told that the file in question had been lost. As stated above, the Fund attaches great importance to General Hennyey's visit to the United States, and considers this visit to be of high operational importance, since it will deeply affect the work of the Hungarian National Council. We shall be very grateful for any assistance which you can render in the expedition of the decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. I may add that General Hennyey's visa will expire on the 21st of this month, and he also will lose his rights owing to the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act in the near future should he not be able to emigrate promptly.

Sincerely yours,

14-00000

Abe. Miller
Notes:

1. "Liason associate is Bill Knott, Alien Control Chief — Security Branch.

2. ¶2:
Bela Fabian of the Hungarian Nat. Council is about to write a rough letter to the NY Times.

Thy.

14-00000

SECRET

17 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Crusade for Freedom

1. At a meeting in John Devine's office at noon on 16 April at which were present Messrs. Devine, Smith, Lang, Lambie, Braden and Admiral Miller, Mr. Smith presented the program for the Crusade for Freedom for next year, which I attach. The budget estimate is just over $500,000 and the central idea is to campaign across the nation for signatures and dimes on behalf of a pledge to preserve, maintain and spread freedom.

2. There are other ideas connected with this, namely a freedom train which will carry the scroll and dimes of the people of the United States from point to point and which eventually will come to Washington where the signatures attached to the scroll will be presented to the new Congress and the new President. Essentially, however, and in terms of our relations with the State Department, the program is intended to avoid specific mention of what the money is being raised for; thus, for example, there will be no publicity about what transmitters cost and how important it is to raise the money. Instead, the campaign will be kept very general and RFE-RFA and VOA will be mentioned only incidentally as one means of spreading the idea of freedom.

3. Mr. Devine presented the program to Messrs. Sargeant, Kohler and Compton and received their approval. I have therefore notified Admiral Miller that there is no objection on behalf of the State Department to the plan presented for the 1953 Crusade for Freedom.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Program for Crusade

CIO:TWB/eb

Orig - DDCI (thru DD/P)
1 cc - ADPC
1 cc - DDCI
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

SECRET

Executive Registry
2853a

17 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed Conference at Princeton Inn

You asked me to remind you of Admiral Miller's request that you speak to David Bruce about his attendance at Admiral Miller's proposed conference at the Princeton Inn on Saturday, 10 May at 10:30 AM. You will recall Admiral Miller's mention of the fact that the idea of the conference is attributed to Mr. Bruce, dating back to a luncheon conversation that he had in Paris with C. D. Jackson and the Admiral.

Tom Braden
THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - DDCI
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - ER

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

17 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY CHIEF, SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

SUBJECT: Bulgarian National Committee

1. This is to confirm our oral report to you of the President of NCFE's report to us of his 15 April 1952 conference with Dimitrov on this subject.

2. Admiral Miller reported that he had presented the agreed upon plan to Dimitrov, without threatening to cut off funds. Dimitrov's first reaction was that the plan was a maneuver to oust Dimitrov. The end result, however, was that Dimitrov was to think the plan over and give his views on it in return. It was further suggested that a council meeting would be held on 30 April or as soon thereafter as possible. However, Admiral Miller stated that this meeting would probably not occur before mid-May, since the two members coming from Paris would probably not arrive before that time. A quorum would not be possible without them.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO/NBV:bw

Distribution:
- Addressee - original
- CIO - 1
- IO/DOTO - 1
- IO/Ex.Asst. - 1
- RI - 2

SECRET

14-00000

17 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Reports of Leon Dennen

1. Almost without exception, the Dennen reports, of which thirteen have been examined to date, duplicate reports already received, but do not contain as much information as the reports being obtained from other sources or from the same sources as those used by Dennen. Of the reports, only one has been disseminated. The Department of State's comment on that report was that a similar one had been received.

2. For your convenience, a brief analysis of the thirteen reports is presented below:

<u>Hungary</u>

1. <u>Csepel Arsenal in Hungary</u>

<u>Comment</u>: This report, consisting of a list of names of directors or top officials in various Hungarian industrial enterprises, was considered of marginal value. The persons listed were identified with overt positions and have been mentioned in a number of overt Hungarian publications.

2. <u>Report on the Activities of the Hungarian Embassy and Consulate in Paris</u>.

3. <u>Report on Hungarian Socialist Group in France</u>.

Comment: Information is thin and overt. These reports duplicate in part reports already received in greater detail.

This material probably comes from persons who have contact or knowledge of the Hungarian Legation, but who have not actually "penetrated" the Legation.

4. <u>Survey of Political Conditions in Hungary from 1951 through the Early Part of 1952</u>.

Comment: Frankly overt material, obtained (or could have been obtained) from a close reading of published material. Of marginal value as representing the viewpoints of former Hungarian industrialists.

SECRET

Note to DDCI: I just talked to Min Miller about the Dennen situation. He would like to withdraw his objections to his overt use of Dennen.

5. Hungary's Productive Capacity in Relation to Hungarian Plan for 1952.

Comment: Report was thin. Information on mines and factories was already known.

Overall Comment: Continuation of reports similar to the above is not recommended.

Poland

1. Polish Industry Gears for War Production.
2. Polish Coal Production.
3. Poland is Preparing Reserve Industrial Staff with Knowledge of Languages.
4. Report on Poland.

Comment on the 4 reports:

Most, if not all of this information, had been previously received through our regular channels.

The material is not disseminated to customer agencies who have overt access thereto.

5. WIN Report

Comment: A verbatim extract (42 pages) of a 100 page report which we had already received. (In this connection, please note CEE's memorandum of 28 January 1952, which is attached).

Rumania

1. Zhdanov Cadre School in Bucharest

Comment: Evaluation here F3. Evaluation by State A2, but State had previously received the information.

Estonia

1. Elections of People's Judges and Lay Assessors in Estonia.
2. Some More Important Developments in Soviet Estonia in 1951.

Comment: These reports duplicate information we have received. This is true, primarily because Johannes Mikhelson is the source. Mikhelson is a WE-1 agent, is also used by Mr. Angleton, and is on [illegible]'s ICFTU-in-exile payroll.

Sweden

1. Soviet Propaganda in Sweden

Comment: This report is also a duplicate. (See preceding comment).

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Distribution:
Addressee - original
NE - 1
EE/SO - 1
EE/PC - 1
SE - 1
CIO - 1
IO/DOTO - 1
RI - 2

7 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Leon Dennen

1. We provided for Leon Dennen $71,000 for the period 1 August 1951 to 30 June 1952 for a project to be operated by NCFE in Europe. (Dennen did not, as I understand it, assume his work in Europe until c. 1 October 1951.) The $71,000 included an allotment of $6,000 for ten monthly payments of $600.00 for special intelligence activities. Otis recently informed us, however, that of the $600.00 per month allotments, Dennen had asked for and received a total of only $250.00 all told.

2. On 2 April, Admiral Miller stated that Dennen's work was absolutely worthless as far as NCFE and RFE were concerned.

Dennen's intelligence reports have been evaluated as having practically no usefulness; and, as you know, in his intelligence "gathering", he has crossed some of EE's wires. In both OPC and OSO, there is such suspicion of Dennen, that no one has been willing to give him direct guidance for fear that it would merely enlarge Dennen's knowledge of our operations.

3. When Dennen returns, my recommendation is that we tell him that while we may discontinue support to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unionists in Exile, we feel that, since we have a Paris NCFE representative, we should use this channel—or some other channel not involving additional expense.

4. Meanwhile, since the ICFTU in exile is of primary interest to EE, and of some interest to SE and WE, I have asked Mr. Brose, Mr. Horton, and Mr. Scott their views on continued support to the organization and, after a go-round with them, I will send up a further report to you.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO/KGV:bw

Distribution:
Addressee - original
CIO - 1
IO/DOTO - 1✓
RI - 2

14-00000

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

In reply refer to: W-1995
S

16 April 1952

Dear Min:

We have a 2 April report from our friends across the street documenting certain criticisms which Mr. Visoianu has made of NCFE. Some of this criticism stems directly, I believe, from his reaction to Mr. Berle's testimony in the Malaxa case. Another of his complaints stems from the appointment of Comarnisciu to a position with the Free Europe University at Strasbourg.

This report raises several questions with me. I should consider it a great favor if you would have prepared for me a review of the whole Rumanian National Committee as to factions, alignments and with recommendations regarding what might be done to improve the Rumanian Committee.

Sincerely,

Oliver Radwood

CIO/NBV:bw

Distribution:
Addressee - original
CIO - 1
IO/Admin. Off. - 1
IO/DOTO - 1
RI - 2

SECRET

14-00000

April 2, 1952

Mr. Visoianu called at his request to inform us of the high lights of his recent trip to Europe. He had first attended the meeting of the Eastern European Section of the European Movement in London, then visited France, Germany and Italy.

Mr. Visoianu said that in Germany he had talked with Chancellor Adenauer, Secretary of State Hallstein, and other officials of the Bonn Government, as well as with Mr. Rober and other Allied officials. He said that the Germans were sympathetic to his discussion of Rumanian affairs and showed some interest in the problems of Eastern Europe. They, emphasized, however, that Germany's present position did not enable them to speak in terms of any positive policy at this time. Mr. Visoianu got the impression that the Germans were now, and would be in the future, even more actively interested in Rumania and other Eastern European countries than were France and Italy. Mr. Visoianu felt that France had completely abdicated its position in Eastern Europe and was entirely wrapped up in its own domestic problems and relations with Germany.

Mr. Visoianu also discussed in Germany the question of Rumanian refugees there (most of whom are Iron Guardists) and of the rather large community of Volksdeutsche who came to Germany from Rumania at the close of the war. He said that the German authorities would like to have this group returned to Rumania at such time as the country might be liberated, both because they contributed to Germany's over-population problem and because they would represent, as they have in the past, a possible instrument for German policy in Rumania. As a Rumanian, Mr. Visoianu was not over anxious to add to the numbers of the German minority but felt that a free Rumanian Government would not deny the right of return to those who wished to do so.

Mr. Visoianu talked at length with Mr. Tyler in Paris. He retains his distrust and dislike of the NCFE, which he says can never assist effectively in bringing about unity in the Rumanian emigration since it supports one group 100% and persecutes the other group 100%. He was particularly incensed about Mr. Berle's recent intervention in the Malaxa case. He said that he regarded the situation as having very serious implications not only for the emigres but also for the future of the country itself. He denounced Radescu's conduct, giving numerous examples, as detrimental to the true interest of Rumania. One of his more specific complaints against the NCFE was the appointment of Comarniciu as head tutor (or some such title) at the Free Europe University in Strasbourg. He said that Comarniciu had no education and no qualifications for the post but was there merely because he was of the Radescu faction which NCFE favored.

Mr. Visoianu saw King Michael in England but he did not indicate whether there were any new developments with respect to the King's position toward the present disunity in the Rumanian emigration.

In reply refer to: W-1970

15 April 1952

Dear Min:

Looking through the recently inherited files, I notice a special fund which has its origin in the Poole era. For the present fiscal year $10,000 has been drawn and accounted for, as a John Waterfield accounting statement dated 27 January 1952 indicates. You will note there is a cash balance as of 27 January of $5,578.

This is one of those things that questions will always be raised about. I know there is good precedent for it, however, in business firms and maybe we should continue it. In any event, I wanted to bring it to your attention and to be sure you knew of its existence.

Sincerely,

Oliver F. Hadwood

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - IO/ExOff.
2 cc - CIO ✓
2 cc - RI

In reply refer to: W-1984

15 April 1952

Dear Min:

One of your employees, Miron Butarin, prior to accepting employment with your firm, was interviewed by us. With your permission we should like to continue processing papers for his employment. If you wish to keep him, we should like to know that so that we can close out the case.

Sincerely,

Oliver E. Hadwood

CIO:NBV/eh

Orig - Addressee
2 cc - CIO
1 cc - IO/Ex.Off.
2 cc - RI

SECRET

14-00000

COPY

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: SE/PC

NO.

DATE 10 Apr 52

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. CIO			12 Apr	TWB	Forwarded per your request of 2 April 1952. TWB
2. DD/P			16 Apr	CVH	
3. ADPC				CDGB	Noted - I hope we have heard the last of complaints about this lovely handled affair from RFE, NCFE, Embassy Attache etc. etc. etc. I regret what I have said before - it is wrong for us to try to use NCFE RFE as cover for covert opr. FGW 12 April 52
4. CIO				TWB per NBV	
5. SE/PC Mr. Watson					
6. Mrs. Bailey					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

14-00000

Tom: 10 April

I think if I were you I would forward this to DDP with a note on cover sheet:

Forwarded per your request of 9 April 1958

JWB

done 12 apr

Note para 10. FGW will understand the main trouble.

N.

14-00000

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

13 APR 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SUBJECT: Henry Landowski

1. Attached is a detailed summary of the events surrounding the attempted utilization by Opc of Henry Landowski as a contract agent in Athens. Landowski was stationed in Athens by SE/PC with the cover of a journalist under contract with RFE to provide that organization with news of refugees coming into Greece from certain countries. Landowski was not integrated into RFE; he was associated with RFE under a contractual arrangement meant to provide him with a reasonable explanation for his income and office.

2. The relationship was not a successful one for several reasons:

a. Landowski himself was poorly suited for the assignment, and did not bring the necessary experience and skill required to maintain smooth working relations with RFE.

b. The Landowski assignment was not, in fact, compatible with RFE's decision to station a regular staff officer of its own in Athens. Since the functions of the two men appeared to overlap to an unreasonable degree, both were put in an awkward position.

c. RFE is not organized or designed to maintain covert relationships with contract agents notionally associated with it.

d. The liaison between CIA/opc and RFE was not, during the period under consideration, fully satisfactory in this instance. Quite minor problems became serious because of a lack of complete understanding between the two organizations.

3. This division concludes from the case that neither RFE nor (by inference) its parent, NCFE, is suitable for use as a cover instrument. An agent under cover is seen in the Landowski instance as raising staffing and organizational problems RFE has not been set up to handle. Because of the unsuitability of the arrangement, and because of the security risks involved, Landowski is being recalled from Athens, and will be disposed of as securely as possible.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Chief for Policy Coordination, SE

Attach: (1)
1. As stated in para. 1
Distribution: (See nr. 2)

SECRET

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

13 APR 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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b. The Landowski assignment was not, in fact, compatible with RFE's decision to station a regular staff officer of its own in Athens. Since the functions of the two men appeared to overlap to an unreasonable degree, both were put in an awkward position.

c. RFE is not organized or designed to maintain covert relationships with contract agents notionally associated with it.

d. The liaison between CIA/ops and RFE was not, during the period under consideration, fully satisfactory in this instance. Quite minor problems became serious because of a lack of complete understanding between the two organizations.

3. This division concludes from the case that neither RFE nor (by inference) its parent, NCFE, is suitable for use as a cover instrument. An agent under cover is seen in the Landowski instance as raising staffing and organizational problems RFE has not been set up to handle. Because of the unsuitability of the arrangement, and because of the security risks involved, Landowski is being recalled from Athens, and will be disposed of as securely as possible.

GRATIAN M. YATSEVITCH
Chief for Policy Coordination, SE

Attach: (1)
1. As stated in para. 1
Distribution: (See pg. 2)

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SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

Distribution:
Addressee - Orig. & 1

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

The Case of Henry Landowski

1. On 10 January 1951, at the request of Ops Athens, SE/PC (thru EE-1) requested an operational clearance on Henry Landowski, then residing in Athens. Landowsky, a Polish citizen by birth, was naturalized a US citizen on 25 July 1950. He is now 33 years old. The PC Field Station wished to use him as a contract agent under cover in Greece, engaged principally in PW work and in recruiting and handling other agents. The clearance was granted on 30 May 1951, and on 15 June Landowsky signed a contract in Athens.

2. The field dispatch outlining Landowsky's capabilities and the work envisaged for him described him as a free-lance journalist, resident of Greece for several years (his mother was married to a Greek), familiar with the Greek language and fluent in Polish and German, and having certain contacts in Greek government circles. His success in interviewing refugees from the satellite countries had come to the station's notice, and it was believed that under cover of such interviews he would be useful in gathering material for propaganda use and in spotting and recruiting agents.

3. The field station suggested that a cover organization be established to operate as a news agency in Athens with ostensible headquarters in New York. This agency would notionally specialize in refugee news for press and radio, and would appear to draw its main financial support from a contract with Radio Free Europe for the supplying of broadcast material on refugee topics. It was the field's plan that this news service would also furnish cover to other Ops personnel in the future, when it might plausibly expand as a business enterprise. To forward this idea, SE/PC called on Mr. Thompson, Chief of SP, on 11 July 1951 for his assistance in

..URET obtaining RFE's

obtaining RFE's cooperation. Mr. Thompson later informed this division that a Mr. Phenix of RFE agreed to the contractual relationship proposal, but wished it made clear that RFE would not give cover to Landowski in the guise of a regular RFE employee. This was understood and agreed to by this office.

4. During Landowski's covert training in Washington, in July and August, the Commercial Division was consulted regarding the various aspects of creating a fictitious corporation, Europe News Service, along the lines outlined above. The difficulties of legal incorporation and of maintaining plausible US headquarters for such a firm, according to the Commercial Division, made this inadvisable. It was therefore decided, after consultation with the Legal Division, that a personal contract between Landowski, supposedly representing the "Europe News Service," and RFE would be sufficient and would obviate the risks of building a cover firm out of nothing.

5. During a brief conversation between Mr. Lang of RFE and SE/PC's case officer for the Landowski matter, the following points were covered: Mr. Lang was particularly interested in whether Landowski could actually provide useful material to RFE, and was told that this was the case. Mr. Lang said the desired contract could be arranged merely by his requesting it at an Executive Committee meeting of NCFE. In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Lang said no standard RFE contract form existed, but that in drawing the Landowski contract he would use the noncommittal phrasing of the RFE/Free Federation of Journalists contract, in which a definite monthly payment was stipulated without any mention of specific returns from FFJ (which, Mr. Lang said, is a subsidized organization). He was reassuring as to whether RFE's

accounting mechanism

accounting mechanism was secure enough to permit large ($1000) monthly payments to Landowski without questioning the extent of his services. Mr. Lang stated that there was no security risk from RFE's internal accounting or contracting procedure. He then mentioned that RFE planned to send one of their own employees to Athens later, probably "around the end of the year." Although surprised, since this plan had not been mentioned to Mr. Thompson by Mr. Phenix during the original discussion of Landowski in July, the case officer did not go further into this, feeling that Landowski would have three months to establish his cover in Athens prior to the arrival of the RFE man.

6. In accordance with arrangements made with Mr. Lang, Landowski was instructed to report in New York for a week's briefing in RFE affairs, and on 24 September called at RFE's offices and asked for Mr. Lang's assistant, Mr. Weld. Their meeting was most unsatisfactory, as Mr. Weld was not familiar with Landowski's background and standing with RFE, had arranged no training for him, knew of no contract, and was himself busy with preparations for a trip to Europe. Upon receiving this information in a phone call from Landowski, the division requested Mr. Lazarus of PY to phone RFE and inquire into the status of the contract, and to urge that a preliminary draft be submitted to us. After several days delay, during which one contract was drawn by RFE, submitted to Landowski who signed it, and then withdrawn and destroyed by RFE officials, a new contract was finally executed by both parties without this office knowing its terms. Landowski later stated that he had felt it imperative to sign what was given him in order to end his conspicuous position in RFE's offices, where he had spent the better part of several days in the waiting room. His training consisted of little more than a tour of RFE's installation.

7. While Landowski

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7. While Landowski was in New York, the SR/PC case officer was informed that Mr. Sperling, who is in charge of RFE's European headquarters at Munich, was in Washington for debriefing and would be available for a few minutes discussion relative to Landowski. In this discussion Mr. Sperling advised that Mr. Rampft, the regular RFE employee mentioned by Mr. Lang as going to Greece "around the end of the year," was actually leaving in a week. As this would of course make it more difficult if not impossible for Landowski to explain his activities, on arriving in Athens several weeks after Rampft had installed himself as the RFE representative, the case officer protested that this was counter to the spirit of the existing agreement. Mr. Sperling, however, said the Rampft assignment to Greece had been planned a year earlier, and that it was not possible to change it. He added that he would help Landowski in every possible way, however, and asked that Landowski visit his office in Munich prior to starting work in Athens, for a thorough grounding in RFE's European programming operations.

8. At this point, the question of Landowski's cover was carefully reviewed by this division, and a decision was made not to attempt to put the man into Athens under an RFE contract if Rampft were going out as the regular representative of that organization. It seemed certain that both men would be awkwardly placed, and that their ostensible functions would overlap unreasonably. The assignment of one or the other would have to be withdrawn, and, through the division's channel to RFE (Mr. Lazarus), the withdrawal of the Rampft assignment was requested. RFE's reply was affirmative and the division was informed that Rampft was to be sent to Trieste instead.

9. However, upon

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9. However, upon Landowski's arrival in Athens on 16 October, he found that Rampft was already there, contrary to the above understanding. Landowski consequently found himself obliged to justify his position, and particularly his requests for access to refugees, as Rampft had already presented his credentials to the Greek authorities, the American Embassy, the American military authorities, and the international press representatives in Athens.[1] Landowski flew to Munich to confer with Mr. Sperling, who in an effort to resolve the problem, suggested that Landowski change the name of his supposed firm from "Europe News Service" to "Radio News and Recording Service" and that he specialize in wire recordings of refugee interviews. A new contract was therefore drawn in Munich, using the suggested title.

10. On 18 October a cable was received from Mr. Wisner in Athens relative to Rampft's presence there. This cable (IN 35284), for relay to Mr. Jackson of NCFE and Mr. Lang of RFE, stated that the Athens station was concerned lest Rampft prove as troublesome as one Ira Hamilton in Turkey. On the same date an Opc Athens cable (IN 34940) inquired if Rampft were cleared and if he knew Landowski's CIA affiliation. Upon requesting PY to obtain this information, this office was informed that Rampft was cleared and that he had gone to Athens on personal orders from Mr. Lang. On

6 November a

1. In a subsequent intelligence report to Defense, the US Military Attache in Athens referred to the peculiar Rampft/Landowski situation, the obvious hostility between the men, the johnny-come-lately status of Landowski contrasted to Rampft's prior arrival, and the MA's own reluctance to agree to Landowski's access to refugees in the face of Rampft's attitude and the apparent lack of official sponsorship for Landowski.

SECRET

6 November a cable (IN 39122) was received from Ops Athens referring to the unsatisfactory situation resulting from Rampft's appearance in Athens and stating that, if a permanent RFE representative were actually necessary in Athens, it should be someone other than Rampft, who was reportedly lacking in security sense and said to be a heavy drinker. Through the case officer assigned to this matter, this division thereupon requested Mr. Braden's help in learning from RFE how much Rampft knew of Landowski's covert activities, whether Rampft would conduct his own work in a manner acceptable to the CIA Senior Representative in Athens, Mr. John Baker, and whether Rampft had been instructed to cooperate with Landowski without attempting to oversee his activities. No answer has been received to these queries.

11. Late in November the division was advised by Security that unspecified derogatory information had been received regarding Landowski; the field station was consequently instructed to hold up his use pending fuller information. Early in January, upon receiving an adverse completed report from Security, the field was instructed to return Landowski to Washington for termination. It was considered unwise to inform Landowski, while still in Greece, of the reason underlying his recall; he has consequently been told that the dual RFE representation in Athens (Rampft and Landowski) was no longer workable and that RFE had insisted on keeping its own man. He believes that a new RFE assignment may be possible for him after his return here late this month (his trip has been delayed by his mother's recent death in Athens).

12. The Landowski problem has now become one of recall and disposal. Quite aside from the RFE relationship, the man has not performed well,

SECRET

has not

has not handled his affairs in a secure or professional manner, and is not wanted by the field station. The division plans to terminate him, read him out of any connection with RFE, and arrange that he be placed with a commercial firm for employment as a junior public relations man. Simple dismissal is not regarded as secure; continued employment by the Agency is undesirable, hence the need to find him employment of sorts until his familiarity with CIA activities has cooled.

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SECRET B147 P-582 L-217

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

2-7861

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:	NO.
CIO	20/959 68829
	DATE 8 April 52

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. DD/P Col. Taylor		10 april		[initials]	[redacted]
2. [redacted]					
3. ER				[initials]	
4. ~~GPY/OPC~~					
5. DCPY		17 april	18 april	JHK	
6. C-20					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

Comments (continued):

Mr. Brewer:
George:
FGW asks that you attempt to get from State the information which Tom Braden asks for. He asks that I bring to your attention the following 2 points:
a. The Director does not feel it would be advisable to launch any balloon operations until after the PW campaign has died down a bit.
b. The British, through Adam Watson, have raised the question of balloon operations with FGW and want to discuss these operations during the forthcoming PW-State meetings on policy.

TG
P. Taylor, 3rd

5&6 - Cofer on tel - JHK

I will call O'Meara

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

P-2232

SECRET

Executive Registry
2-7861

8 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS)
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Letter from Admiral Miller

1. Attached is a copy of a letter from Min Miller in which he suggests the necessity of coming to a definite decision in respect to a future balloon operation.

2. Can you take the time to get a policy decision from the State Department as to (a) whether they wish to have a balloon operation in August or at any subsequent date, and (b) whether they want us to set aside funds and materials now for a future balloon operation at some unspecified time?

Thomas W. Braden
THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Ltr from Adm Miller 1 Apr 52.

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressees
1 cc - ADPC
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

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C
O
P
Y

April 1, 1952

Dear Oliver:

We need to get a firm commitment with respect to the Crusade's next balloon operation.

Our best target from the point of view of geography and RFE radio coverage is Czechoslovakia. We can go into Poland and Hungary somewhat less efficiently. If Hungary should be the target, we will presumably still have the problem of clearance from the British to launch from their Zone, and failing that should have to back up to our Zone.

We need an absolute minimum of three months to prepare a balloon operation; the longer notice the better. A date of special significance to the target country is perhaps of some slight additional desirability from the psychological point of view. It is, however, not essential. From the point of view of our campaign schedule, an initial launching date of about August 20th would be ideal. This would allow the story on the operation and its effect to become known at the opening of our September campaign.

We have in storage in Munich 50,000 packages (of two each) of razor blades, 100,000 zippers, 72,000 packets of needles (five to the packet), and 150,000 cakes of soap (1/2, 3/4 and one ounce sizes). All of the above except needles were donations to the Crusade, and the needles were at cost. We have had to tell Gillette and Talon twice (at Christmas and at Easter) that the operation for which they supplied their products had been delayed. We should very much regret having to do this again.

I do not know what keeps putting this off the track. It is my information that the boys in the big house were initially enthusiastic about the idea, and the record will show that Ambassador Briggs thought it most valuable in Czechoslovakia, witness his special request that this means of communication be used at the time of the Czech Freedom Train break-out.

I would appreciate your getting us as soon as possible a positive and (barring an act of God) irrevocable approval for a balloon operation into a specified target country at a certain date, with agreement in principal on the nature of the operation -- i.e., of an order of magnitude of 60,000 to 75,000 vehicles, bearing the above mentioned materials together with messages. To repeat, by far the best target is Czechoslovakia; our preferred date: around August 20th.

Let us not make this approval in principle (with firm date and target) contingent on a budget, except in a general way. With an approval in hand, we can proceed with plans and supply a fairly accurate budget, which will depend somewhat on such things as whether we can use the P-20 balloons on hand for the short flight to Prague or whether we will have to resort to P-50's for the longer flight into Poland or from the U.S. Zone of Austria into Hungary.

Sincerely,

/s/ Leonard

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

28 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, EE-2

SUBJECT: Future Balloon Operation

1. Attached is a copy of a letter from Min Miller in which he suggests the necessity of coming to a definite decision in respect to a future balloon operation.

2. Will you advise me as to (a) whether you wish to have a balloon operation in August or at any subsequent date, and (b) whether you want us to set aside funds and materials now for a future balloon operation at some unspecified time.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Ltr from Min Miller
dtd 1 Apr 52.

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - IO/TOMIC
1 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

7 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Labor Service Companies

The exact text of a 27 March 1952 letter from the Political Advisor of RFE at Munich to the President of NCFE is supplied below for your information.

"This is in respect to the various Labor Service Companies made up of Eastern European exiles now existing in Germany.

"There have been Polish Labor and Guard Companies ever since the war and these are what their name implies. There have been set up, however, within the last year Czechoslovak and Bulgarian Labor Service Companies here. These latter two represent an activity with which our friends are directly involved. I have been informed by them upon my inquiry that should any reference be made by satellite propaganda to these companies it is desired that in any RFE comment upon it that these companies should be treated as being what their name implies.

"The Czechoslovak Company included both Czechs and Slovaks, although I understand that the Slovak Separatists here make violent efforts to have a separate one for themselves. The Bulgarian Company is at present made up almost entirely of adherents of Dimitrov. Further recruiting, however, in this respect is now going on with a policy of barring both Bulgarian National Front and Dimitrov followers.

"I am also informed by my friends here that active planning is now under way in respect to the Kersten Amendment. I should much appreciate it if we could keep informed of any developments in this respect here for possible use in RFE broadcasts and for conversations with friends."

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

cc: SE
EE

CIO/WEV:bw
Distribution:
Addressee - 1 IO/DOTO - 1
CIO - 1
RI - 2

SECRET

14-00000

C
O
Y

STRICTLY PRIVATE

27 March 1952

Dear Admiral Miller:

This is in ~~respect~~ to the various Labor Service Companies made up of Eastern European exiles now existing in Germany.

There have been Polish Labor and Guard Companies ever since the war and these are what their name implies. There have been set up, however, within the last year Czechoslovak and Bulgarian Labor Service Companies here. These latter two represent an activity with which our friends are directly involved. I have been informed by them upon my inquiry that should any reference be made by satellite propaganda to these companies it is desired that in any RFE comment upon it that these companies should be treated as being what their name implies.

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I am also informed by my friends here that active planning is now under way in respect to the Kersten Amendment. I should much appreciate it if we could keep informed of any developments in this respect here for possible use in RFE broadcasts and for conversations with friends.

Sincerely,

/s/ BILL

W. E. Griffith

cc: Mr. Leich
Mr. Galantiere

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SECRET
Security Information

ER-2-7715

5 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division

FROM : Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT : National Committee for a Free Europe - Radio Free Europe - Miscellaneous Recommendations for Action

REFERENCE : Memorandum from C/IO to D/DCI, DD/P and ADPC dated 27 March 1952

1. I have read the reference memorandum which I note contains quite a number of recommendations for action, some of which apply to the undersigned.

2. I would like to participate in the Princeton bull session but believe it unnecessary for CIA to be represented by so many people. If Mr. Dulles is going I should prefer to drop out. A further reason for reluctance on my part to attend this meeting is that I have already passed on to the NCFE people interested all of the ideas and information which I have on the principal theme of this discussion. I therefore feel that, until after the forthcoming meeting with the British or the development of the Psychological Strategy Paper, which is being laboriously ground out by Admiral Stevens' Ad Hoc Committee, I would have nothing new to contribute. However, if Mr. Dulles is unable to attend and you feel that I should go, I would be willing to do so.

3. Concerning your report of Frank Altschul's feeling of grievance, I should be glad to sign a letter to him if Mr. Dulles agrees that I am the proper person to do this. Pending Mr. Dulles' consideration of this matter, will you please prepare in draft form for my signature a friendly letter to Mr. Altschul in which you might comment upon the fact that NCFE-RFE now represents one of the most potent weapons in our entire arsenal, and following with an acknowledgement of the very important contribution which Mr. Altschul made toward the development and shaping of this instrument.

Nancy - will you [illegible] ... letter of 31 March 52 ... a copy of which you have.

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Security Information

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Security Information

4. I am somewhat confused by the contents of the action paragraph following paragraph 3, in which you indicate that we are continuing to urge NCFE to extend cover assistance to the Kirk Committee. On the basis of our most recent conversations with Mr. Dulles and Admiral Miller, I was under the impression that you were trying to dig up some other forms of cover - particularly in view of the reluctance of the NCFE Board to extend the Crusade cover to the Kirk Committee. Perhaps this paragraph of the reference memorandum has been overtaken by events. — yes.

5. I understand that you are getting up a memorandum on the Landowsky case. I am relieved to hear that Landowsky has been recalled from Greece and that it is not intended to have him return.

\ N.B.V.

Done 11 Apr 52

Frank G. Wisner
FRANK G. WISNER

cc: DDCI (with reference memorandum)

SECRET
Security Information

14-00000

This comes up
at PRC — or
is scheduled on
Friday. After
that, we need
to advise Admiral
to apply to 1848
— if PRC
approves, that is
M.

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

PROCEDURE
FOR
TPMEDIC TRANSFERS

2 April 52

Step 1.

a. Facility (TPTONIC, PILLAR or what have you) sends letter of request to MEDIC.

b. Facility sends certified true copy of request (1a.) to IO (via area division involved if not for TPTONIC as set forth in Step 2 below).

Step 2. FOR TPTONIC only (Includes BGCAKEBOX)

a. IO prepares letter for ADPC's signature, addressed to MEDIC, authorizing MEDIC to transfer funds requested by TONIC to TONIC on basis of 1a. above if request is in order.

b. MEDIC receives letter of authority (2a.).

c. MEDIC transfers funds to TONIC on basis of 2b. and at the same time prepares a letter of transmittal addressed to TONIC, copy to IO.

d. TONIC, upon receipt of funds from MEDIC (2c.), prepares a letter of acknowledgment addressed to MEDIC, certified true copy to IO.

e. IO prepares letter addressed to CFD, signed by IO, transmitting receipts 2d. together with certified true copy of letter 2a. (See 2f below).

f. IO prepares letter addressed to CFD, signed by CIO, requesting CFD to reimburse MEDIC for the total amount of receipts 2e. Note: Letters 2e and 2f are hand carried to CFD together.

g. CFD, on basis of 2f transfers funds to MEDIC.

h. MEDIC acknowledges receipt of 2g by letter to IO.

Step 3. FOR OTHER THAN TPTONIC and BGCAKEBOX (after Step 1)

a. Area division authorizes CFD to transfer funds from "XXX" Project to MEDIC for transfer to facility by letter, signed by appropriate area division chief. (Note: This letter comes to IO whose responsibility it is to determine that funds are available in "XXX" Project).

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Step 3. FOR OTHER THAN TPTONIC AND BGCAKEBOX (CONTINUED)

b. IO prepares letter to CFD with letter 3a attached for ADPC's signature requesting CFD to transfer funds to MEDIC. (See 3c. below).

c. At same time letter 3b. is prepared, a letter for ADPC's signature is prepared by IO authorizing MEDIC to transmit the funds to facility(addressed to MEDIC).

d. MEDIC receives letter of authority 3c.

e. MEDIC acknowledges receipt of funds which CFD transmits(3b)

f. MEDIC transfdrs funds to facility on basis of 3d and at the same time sends letter of transmittal to facility, copy to IO.

g. Facility, upon receipt of funds from MEDIC, prepares a letter,addressed to MEDIC, acknowledging receipt of funds 3f., certified true copy to IO.(See 1b.)

h. IO upon receipt of letter 3g. prepares letter addressed to CFD and transmitts same together with copy of letter (certified true copy) 3c.

NOTE: It will be the responsibility of the Administrative Office/IO to verify that funds are in fact allotted for each project before preparing the above papers.

PAM

Distribution:
EXO/IO - Original
Adm O/IO - 1 copy
FI/Maggio - 1 copy

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Provisions of Proposed Agreement Between NCFE and CIA

It is proposed that an agreement which will include the following be entered into by NCFE and CIA.

1. A statement to the effect that subject to the security, program, budgetary, and policy controls and the veto authority of CIA set forth below, NCFE has administrative and operational responsibility for the conduct of its operations.

2. A provision that NCFE will submit to CIA an annual operating plan and supporting budget for the programs which it plans to undertake during each fiscal year. The approval of such operating program and budget by CIA will include authority to NCFE to proceed as necessary in their judgment to accomplish the objectives set forth in the approved program, subject to controls set forth below.

3. A provision that NCFE will maintain adequate accounting and fiscal controls.

4. A provision that NCFE will undertake only those programs which have been approved by CIA.

5. A provision that CIA will provide funds to NCFE for approved programs.

6. A provision that CIA will furnish national policy guidance to NCFE for the conduct of such programs and that NCFE will conform to such policy.

7. A provision that NCFE will conform to security regulations to be prescribed by CIA. These will include the security clearance of necessary personnel, obtaining of security agreements from all witting personnel, and necessary physical security measures.

8. A provision to the effect that the general organizational structure and salary scales including allowances will be approved by CIA.

9. A provision that the president and vice-presidents of NCFE will be employed subject to the concurrence of CIA.

[illegible] INFORMATION

10. A provision that CIA will have veto authority over activities to be undertaken by NCFE which are contrary to other CIA or national policies. ([illegible])

11. A provision with respect to the termination of operations under this agreement.

12. A provision with respect to indemnification of NCFE directors, officers, and employees by CIA.

13. A provision that defines the liability ~~of CIA~~ to each director, officer, and employee of NCFE.

14. A provision to the effect that NCFE will provide CIA with regular progress and financial reports.

15. A provision that CIA will have authority to conduct such surveys and audits of NCFE activities as it deems necessary.

...ATION

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE

Problem

To clarify the relationship of NCFE to CIA and the respective responsibilities and authorities of each for the conduct of NCFE operations.

Background

There is no currently effective clear statement as to the respective responsibilities and authorities of NCFE and CIA for the conduct of operations. This has resulted in a number of misunderstandings and problems with respect to the administration of this project by CIA.

Discussion

In order to define the respective responsibilities and authorities of NCFE and CIA, it is proposed that an agreement be entered into between NCFE and CIA which will in effect provide for:

a. Policy, program, budgetary, security control, and veto power by CIA.

b. Subject to such general controls direct administrative and operational control over its operations by NCFE.

c. The working out of machinery for submitting annual operating programs and supporting budgets by NCFE for approval by CIA (and major subsequent additions thereto)

d. Adequate progress, financial, and other reports by NCFE to CIA.

An outline of the principal provisions of such an agreement is set forth in Attachment A.

It is the consensus of all concerned in CIA that something like the above is essential. There is one technical point of difference, however, between the IO Division and the Administrative Staff Special. This is the matter of a CIA regulation (Memorandum for All Staff and Division Chiefs

14-00000

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Subject: Categories of Personnel (From: John W. Corris) to the effect that all witting personnel of CIA proprietary organizations must have a contract relationship with CIA. The underlying reasons for this requirement are (1) general control, (2) security control, and (3) to provide a basis for establishing a legal liability to such personnel in the event of a claim of any kind. It is the view of the IO Division that the above three requirements could be better and more cleanly met by one agreement between CIA and N?E, rather than by several separate agreements between witting individuals and CIA.

The office of the General Counsel, CIA, has indicated informally that there is no legal objection to such an agreement between N?F and CIA. He also concurs informally that one contract between N?F and CIA is preferable to several contracts between individuals and CIA.

Recommendation

1. It is therefore recommended that the IO Division be authorised to negotiate an agreement with N?? in coordination with the office of General Counsel and other CIA units which will incorporate the substance of the provisions in Attachment A.

2. It is also recommended that the ??? or other appropriate CIA authority set aside the agency regulation requiring that all witting personnel of proprietary projects be required to execute a contract with CIA.

SECRET

Mr Braden —

At Post — here's the answer to the State Paper on RFE. Sorry for the delay. Please let me know if it's OK w. you —

I do think that our difference w. State on this is very basic — and that we can't continue to operate on 2 different premises. May be this should be thrashed out in a high level policy meeting.

Ellen

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

C
O
P
Y

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Joyce — January 23, 1952.

FROM: EE - Mr. Barbour

The Functions of NCFE and RFE

In our experience with NCFE and RFE two interpretations of their functions, between which the pendulum swings from time to time, have developed. One which is set forth in the paper in the mission of NCFE and RFE, gives dignity and importance to the National Councils as the leadership organs of the Eastern European peoples in their struggle against the respective Communist dictatorships and defines the principal function of RFE as providing a way of communication between these councils and the homelands in conducting the liberation struggle. In the other view, which tends to govern RFE operations at the present time, the RFE is apparently considered a predominantly American enterprise with the objective of achieving a bigger, better, more hard-hitting, and more publicized propaganda program than the VOA but not differing fundamentally from the character and course that VOA has already marked out. The latter interpretation reduces the position of exiles connected with the RFE to that of professional employees engaged by the Americans, and the National Councils are given no direct responsibilities.

As between these two theses, EE agrees generally with the first. If RFE continues along its present course it will in our opinion become in the end simply another VOA (in fact the programming of the two organizations tends already to seek a common denominator) and disappoint the exiles and the peoples in their homelands. This will lead to competitive issues with VOA as is already the case with the Baltic language programs. If RFE is to achieve its first promise and full justification it must become the Voice of Eastern European freedom speaking through the mouths of the Eastern European leaders themselves.

EE believes that unless the RFE broadcasts are made in the name of the National Councils and the free exile leaders of Eastern Europe can speak regularly to their people by this medium the National Councils will never become more than creatures of arrested development and, deprived of the possibility of realizing one of their most important functions, will preoccupy themselves with sterile partisan rivalry and internal differences.

As the reference memorandum points out, if the National Councils are to assume this important responsibility in relation to the RFE they must become effective organizations. EE likewise agrees that the

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Hungarian National Council, being the only National Council which is active in any degree as a unified and effective leadership group, should be given the proposed RFE responsibilities at once and that as soon as the other national groups become effective organizations RFE facilities should be made available to them.

Such a course raises two problems which do not seem sufficiently treated in the reference paper, namely (1) the means of bringing about the formation of unified and effective National Councils, and (2) the extent and character of supervision to be exercised over National Councils once they undertake RFE activities.

EE concurs that NCFE should devote itself as a priority and primary function to fostering the creation of effective National Councils. The reference paper suggests that to this end NCFE give more attention to the problem and take more positive measures in the nature of intervention in assisting the national groups to solve their difficulties. It seems to EE that by the very nature of the arrangement whereby the National Councils operate in the American milieu and receive financial assistance from the NCFE intervention is inevitable and that the NCFE has not refrained from intervening. The problem apparently is not whether the NCFE should intervene in the affairs of the National Councils but what kind of intervention should prevail. EE continues to believe that the ideal situation obtains when a National Council operates effectively with the least possible intervention, and that a national group should be encouraged to achieve effective organization and operations through its own efforts. Excessive intervention and certain types of intervention can produce such harm as to defeat the very purpose we seek to realize, that is, the development of strong, dignified, and important leadership organizations to conduct the national liberation effort from abroad. The wrong types of intervention inimical to this objective include actions which are widely construed as(1) being in favor of, or in opposition to, one candidate or party as against another in the organization of a National Council, (2) representing an attempt to impose a policy with respect to the future constitutional organization of a state or in relation to foreign states or foreign population groups, or (3) relegating exile leaders to a subordinate position of being employees of the Americans. Intervention of the foregoing types must be avoided by all means, yet on the other hand it is essential to assure, by intervention if necessary, that no National Council falls under dictatorial rule and that individuals are held to accountability so that our undertaking does not degenerate into simply a pensionary system for subsidizing the conduct of party politics.

The strongest force in inducing the national exile groups to pull themselves together into some kind of unified and active councils may well be our insistence that until they do so they will not become eligible to take over the proposed RFE responsibilities. If one National Council receives access to RFE facilities this should prove an incentive to the others without our intervention to put themselves in order so that they may do the same.

As to the supervision to be exercised over the National Councils which have taken charge of the broadcasting efforts to their respective homelands, it is obvious that they will need extensive professional assistance, whether by Americans or by their own nationals, in preparing the day-to-day programs. The councils will probably wish of their own initiative, after they have discovered what daily programming involves, not to go behond (a) policy determination as to type of programming, (b) utilization by the political and intellectual exile leaders of the opportunity to speak from time to time to their people, and (c) decision on selection of certain program items. If this assumption is correct then our controls might properly be limited to (1) providing each group a recorded outline of American foreign policy for guidance if they discuss any phase of this subject or its implications, (2) preventing partisan abuses such as the disproportionate use of the RFE by one party although making sure that the representatives of each may have access to RFE facilities if ~~[illegible]~~ party representatives so wish, and (3) conducting an ex post facto review of programs in avoiding abuses of any type. In general it would be desirable to allow the councils the maximum scope of activity and responsibility in the RFE effort they are capable of undertaking in order to nurse the health and vitality of these councils as leadership organizations in the liberation struggle.

EUR:EE:HCVedeler/nl
January 23, 1952

14-00000

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONF[illegible]TIAL SECRET
(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION [illegible] BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO		INITIALS	DATE
1	Mr Braden	JWB	
2	NIC TONIC - Personnel		
3	File Our Office		
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FROM		INITIALS	DATE
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☐ APPROVAL	☐ INFORMATION	☐ SIGNATURE
☐ ACTION	☐ DIRECT REPLY	☐ RETURN
☐ COMMENT	☐ PREPARATION OF REPLY	☐ DISPATCH
☐ CONCURRENCE	☐ RECOMMENDATION	☐ FILE

REMARKS: Tom: Adm H. left this with us. We have all read. Also John Shields has read. He suggested that we keep - instead of his retaining it in his file. Nancy

O.K. It's a good paper.

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM NO. 30-4
SEP 1947

April 1, 1952

MEMORANDUM

TO: Admiral Miller

FROM: Mr. Myers

Attached is presentation describing our exile personnel policy. This paper is prepared in two parts, the second part of which is not yet in type. The part delivered herewith is, I feel, a precise rebuttal of any overall uninformed criticism to which we have been subjected.

In every instance where there has been specific criticism involving individuals employed at New York or Munich we are in a position to rebut charges of Communist infiltration and to defend every member of the staff thus attacked.

Upon the impression that it is an adequate statement in writing, it can be delivered, if you so desire, to Mr. Ehrans for a study and contrast with the supposed allegations he presumably has under scrutiny. Should Ehrans ask for information of a specific nature, Part Two of this paper can then be furnished him if you wish to do so.

RM.

14-00000

NCFE EXILE PERSONNEL SELECTION IN RELATION TO
(1) EXILE POLITICS,
(2) RFE BROADCAST POLICY, AND
(3) EXTERNAL CRITICISM

- I -

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY

A. Formative Stage

At its inception, the National Committee for a Free Europe believed that its Iron Curtain broadcasting operation, Radio Free Europe, could and should be developed and pursued through the medium of "National Councils" or "Committees of Liberation" composed of exile groups from the target countries. It was considered that prominent exile leaders and personalities of each nationality group could express to their captive countrymen, entirely without American advice and guidance, the message of hope which NCFE proposed to send. This concept was not fulfilled. Experience in attempting to weld a talented, dedicated group of exiles into a non-partisan broadcasting operation early demonstrated that without American control the mission of RFE would be lost in the jungle of exile-world politics. It soon became evident that the leadership among the exiles was neither sufficiently strong nor personally willing to rise above the political cross currents, factional rivalries, and splinter-group weaknesses characteristically reminiscent of the political affairs of all Eastern European countries. These factors militated against the original plan of permitting

exiles, through their loosely organized Councils or Committees, to wholly develop, manage, and control RFE broadcasting.

Since the advent of RFE was the most important development affecting the exiles which had occurred since their flight from home, they quickly understood and applauded its implications and potential effect on their futures. Through this instrument they could once again become prominent and powerful in the affairs of the homeland; once more they could contend for place and power.

Selection of personnel for the purpose at hand quickly became a political football of rival leaders, personalities, and groups. Rightists, Leftists, Centrists, Labor Elements, and Splinter-groups argued with us for advancement of their particular personal or political views. Sponsorship of their own adherents as RFE employees through whom such views would be broadcast to their captive countrymen became the pattern of their pseudo cooperation. This pattern was followed to such an extent that ordinary progress and sensible development of our basic purpose of truly free broadcasts under exile control soon appeared to be not only impracticable, but dangerous. For example, the National Councils Division attempted to inaugurate broadcasts to Czechoslovakia under the auspices of a Czechoslovak National Council. The Council was and is made up of exile personalities of differing political views and parties. Its factions proceeded to engage in endless disputes and irreconcilable claims for control of script production and program content. Slovak "Separatists" arguing for the total independence of Slovakia

sought that objective, while Czechs desired opposite views to be aired and advocated the rebirth of pre-war Czechoslovakia. Each group sponsored and insisted upon employment of its own more or less qualified adherents upon the assumption that its special views would be thereby expressed to the captive Czechoslovak audience of RFE. Similar activities were pursued by Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Poles until the futility of permitting the exile Councils to control the destiny and broadcasting policies of RFE was made clear beyond refutation. It became tragically obvious that uncontrolled exile-world Councils and professional politicians could not agree on personnel selection or program content.

In spite of every effort to induce harmony in and obtain proper cooperation from the "Councils", "Committees", and individuals, RFE was confronted with an impasse. The alternative theory and present policy of American selection of non-political exile personnel was the only way out. It has worked. Technically qualified personnel produce properly oriented programs -- and have been doing so with documented success since July, 1950. Disappointed exile politicians, professional exile camp followers, disturbed American special pleaders, and alarmed Communist Agents all scream, snipe and snivel -- but RFE programs are doing the job.

NCFE-RFE records of this stage can be supplied by Frederic R. Dolbeare, Vice-President, National Councils Division, and Robert E. Lang, Director, RFE. The current policy has the complete endorsement of these officers and of the Board of Directors of NCFE.

B. Development Stage

Upon the collapse of the original concept of broadcasting under exile auspices, RFE necessarily utilized some exile personnel endorsed and recommended by the leaders of the various nationality groups. As technical radio facilities came into being, exiles with radio background or writing talent were required for the production of programs. This involved using individuals eminently qualified by experience to do a radio job of script writing, announcing, acting, etc., without regard for the fact that such individuals might be persona non grata with one or another political faction or leader of an exile "Council". It also involved elimination of proven inefficient, inept or unworthy individuals without regard for their exile "Council" sponsorship. In either instance criticism of RFE was predictable and indeed was always forthcoming -- often in virulent and dishonest form.

The day to day operation of RFE developed new techniques and long range plans which made it impossible to employ non-entities of no political color or conviction. The best people to produce programs in harmony with NCFE-RFE purposes and policies necessarily were persons known in their own countries for their views on domestic political affairs and their anti-Communist activities. Hard-hitting propaganda required hard-hitting personalities whose known association with RFE and its programs would add validity and significance for our captive audiences. Gradually, therefore, the nationality desks of RFE at New York and Munich were staffed with tested, qualified exiles who had been

identified publicly with domestic political philosophies at issue in their own countries. Many, in fact, most of the staff people are controversial figures among their own countrymen in exactly the same way that prominent Americans are controversial in our political arena. Many indeed are members of the Councils, but are men of sufficient stature to give their primary allegiance to the non-partisan policy of RFE. The decisive factor is that there be no controversy or question about their anti-Communist convictions and records.

At this point, it must be noted that our target countries have been subject to repetitive political ferment prior to and following World War II, as well as the successive occupations of Nazi and Communist Armies.

The temper of the times, therefore, in which these exiles have lived for the past fifteen years has been one of excitement, bitterness, recrimination, rivalries, and personal turmoil -- all stemming from both domestic and foreign struggles for power. The times have produced a bumper crop of refugee traitors, collaborators, and opportunists and at the same time have developed pure Western style democrats, true national patriots, and unselfish honest men. The exile who stood by placidly through the era is not much good, however talented, as a militant messenger of hope via RFE; exiles who were honorably active in public affairs at home, and who had radio talent were, therefore, the only kind of personnel suitable for RFE purposes.

As the necessity for American operational control of nationality desks became self-evident, the only feasible personnel policy was to

employ properly qualified individuals, regardless of exile politics. In the execution of this policy individuals who were useless were eliminated without regard for political sponsors. This process still goes on. Similarly, talented exile personalities recruited from any source were employed wherever needed. This process still goes on. Both processes are in vogue with a healthy disregard for exile political nuances and protests. Neither process is satisfactory to self-styled exile leaders since it follows that the appointment of an individual sponsored by one faction as a representative of its views, inevitably will evoke howls of rage and criticism from the opposite faction. This is an accepted fact of exile life. We have to live with it and get on with the job.

C. Summary

Our formative and development experiences evolved the present and continuing exile personnel policies of RFE. Exile desk employees, whether at New York or Munich, must respond to three tests:

(a) Security clearance,
(b) Endorsement of technical proficiency,
(c) Sufficient stature to eliminate exile partisan interests from program content.

- II -

CRITERIA AND METHODS OF PERSONNEL SELECTION

A. Recruitment -- General Principles

The best source of exile personnel is referral by "non-professional" exiles themselves. Among all nationalities there are

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many talented refugees who need employment and who can supply RFE's need for script writers, actors, announcers, etc. Accordingly, desk staffing has been accomplished by examining the qualifications of duly recommended individuals, whether the recommendations come from political personalities or otherwise. Selection is based on the ability of the individual to fill a need efficiently in turning out or participating in planned programs. Recruitment is determined only by ideological security, independence of exile politics, and personal ability. This is not to say that many individual exiles having decided personal convictions and well-known political records are not employed, but a positive statement is made that those exile employees who now produce RFE programs reflect the policies and guidance of RFE rather than promotion of partisan objectives and personalities.

B. Recruitment -- Detailed Procedures

The personnel complement of each RFE nationality desk is founded on a hard core of dependable individuals, usually two or three people, including the chief of the desk. "Dependability" is established by exhaustive inquiry at all available sources to establish the desirability, reliability, technical proficiency and security of the working core of the desk. Sources used are:

(a) Exile political personalities in the United States,
(b) Exile references of high standing and known impartiality in the United States and Overseas,
(c) Overseas contacts and personal knowledge of our American representative in Europe. (Royall Tyler-Paris),
(d) Checks and balances of our political advisor at Munich (W. E. Griffith),

(e) British Broadcasting Corporation, where applicable,
(f) Voice of America, where applicable,
(g) Special confidential sources.

These tests having been applied, confidence is placed in these initial personalities, and particularly in the Desk Chief, to carry forward recruitment of additional personnel as needed in collaboration with the American Director of RFE (Robert E. Lang, New York), and his associate officials. The leading personalities of each desk know what is expected of them and since they respond to the established criteria, the resulting full personnel complement is a group of exiles who, notwith standing their personal political views, are suitable and capable program production people. They meet our basic requirement of daily production of truly free and properly constructed propaganda broadcasts capable of evoking the widest possible audience response in our target countries.

In brief, the mission of RFE being conceived as a marketing problem, the best available salesmen are procured, trained, and utilized to sell the market.

C. Recruitment -- Special Security Measures

Since RFE, although a private enterprise, is by extension a collateral instrument of American national policy, special precaution is exercised to insure the ideological security of all employees, including exiles. In the case of exile personnel specifically, the

additional approval of the Personnel Director of NCFE is required before employment, either at New York or Munich. Thus, even if a proposed exile employee meets all the described criteria he may not be employed without this ultimate approval.

The Personnel Director of NCFE utilizes appropriate and dependable sources of information to determine the acceptability of personnel from a security standpoint. His sources are investigative in nature and are conclusive as to the ideological record and security acceptability of the proposed employee. In doubtful cases the Personnel Director consults with the Vice-President in Charge of the National Councils Division and with the Director of Radio Free Europe. These three officers of NCFE jointly follow a policy of rejecting candidates about whom there is the slightest doubt. It is to be clearly understood that in making decisions of this kind the conflicting interests and frantic representations of politically minded exile leaders and groups are ignored. Acceptance or rejection of candidates is wholly based on ideological security and talent value.

D. Summary

(1) All nationality desks of RFE at New York and Munich are staffed by individuals who have passed all tests described above.

(2) All programs produced and aired by the nationality desks are checked and scrutinized by American supervisory personnel for ideological content, audience acceptance and conformity to basic NCFE-RFE policies.

(3) These conditions have been progressively in force since July, 1950.

III

RFE POLICY GUIDANCE FOR PERSONNEL

A. General Comment

The programs aired by RFE are not left to whim or chance. All programs and the personnel responsible for them are controlled by a written policy manual. The manual sets forth in minute detail the position and policy of RFE on every topic beamed to our target countries. The manual is the daily guidance of all employees, both American and Exile; deviation from its rules is not permitted. Continuous scrutiny of manuscripts and resultant broadcasts is maintained by American employees to insure that there are no deviations.

The policy manual of RFE represents the considered views of the responsible officials, including the Board of Directors, of NCFE. It is a statement of the principles and purposes of NCFE expressed in operational form. It is considered and maintained as a strictly confidential document, but it is of course available for examination by any proper authority.

The policy manual is in strict conformity with current American national policies as evidenced by the following quotation from Article One:

> "As a non-governmental radio station responsible to the millions of American citizens who support it, RFE cannot take a line contrary to United States Government policy or to the beliefs of the American people reflected in the Constitution of the United States and in American Institutions".

The above quotation is understood by exile personnel particularly to be a solemn injunction against ideological program content which in any way violates the letter and spirit of American policy and ideals. It is a guarantee to the American people and to our captive listeners that RFE and the men who make its programs are uncompromisingly opposed to the Communist regimes now in power in Soviet Russia and the satellite countries.

B. RFE Policy Defined by Handbook (Direct Quotations)

1. The purpose of RFE is to contribute to the liberation of the Nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain by sustaining their morale and stimulating in them a spirit of non-cooperation with the Soviet-dominated regimes by which they are, for the time being, ruled.

2. The central characteristic of RFE is that it is the instrument of men who are engaged in fighting for freedom and justice. As such, it encourages resistance to every tyrant, great and small, in the countries it addresses. Its speakers speak ... as men of good will who seek to contribute to the elimination of old enmities and the building of an enduring European democratic order.

3. As a free forum in which exiles speak to their own people RFE is particularly dedicated to arguments by which exiles seek to persuade their listeners of the all devouring ambitions of Soviet Imperialism, the cruelty and unworkability of Communist Institutions

and the proven advantages of the democratic way of life for the worker, the peasant, the administrator, and the business and professional strata of society.

4. RFE takes counsel with exile leaders and is respectful of their views, but its policy is not designed to further the aspirations of any single exile leader or party.

5. RFE policy is further based upon acceptance of the principle that each of the liberated peoples shall be free to determine for itself the political and social institutions under which it will live once it has been liberated.

6. Finally, the following summary in the nature of a specific limitation on program content is quoted:

> "It is indispensable that all concerned grasp clearly that RFE is a multi-national station established to contribute to the liberation of all the peoples it addresses, and not merely of one of those peoples. RFE policy is therefore commanded by the limitation that nothing may be said over its facilities to one national audience which will destroy the confidence in RFE of its other audiences or which is likely to induce any of its audiences to prefer communist rule to a liberation which might appear to promise domination by a neighboring people."

SECRET

In reply refer W-1968
to:

31 March 1952

Dear Kim:

On one of the matters which we discussed on Wednesday, i.e., the matter posed in Mr. Hughes' letter, we require some assistance from you. We have gone over this topic thoroughly and find that this is the situation.

a. The number of indigenous people which [illegible] will agree to include in their plan on our behalf is very limited.

b. This being the case, we require from you a compilation of names of indigenous people, not to exceed thirty, whom you would consider indispensable for the re-establishment of an operation similar to that of Kenneth's firm in another area, in time of real heat. It is possible, but not absolutely certain, that we can arrange to include this group of thirty in our provisions for time of trouble.

c. Moreover, we feel that it would be unwise for <u>us</u> to approach the Department of Defense officials at this time.

e. We, therefore, suggest that you approach the Department of Defense directly and independently with no reference to the fact that we have an interest in the matter as a whole, and with no reference to our interest in any part of it (e.g. the number thirty above). We feel that General Clay and other influential citizens who are concerned with your organization may be of assistance in the direct approach which we have recommended.

I need not assure you that this cause is one of special interest on our part; nor do I need to stress the practical considerations within the assisting Department which compel us to declare our own limitations and to suggest the direct independent approach, for you are, I am sure, the first to understand a problem of this type.

SECRET

In compiling the list of thirty names, you should I believe, choose individuals who fit into the "indispensable" category by virtue of their programming and idea generation capabilities rather than because of engineering or other technical background.

You will perhaps wish to know that a copy of this letter is being sent by Allen to Mr. Hughes to whom Allen has recently sent a belated interim reply.

I hope that we may hear from you in regard to this list at an early date. While we require the names, for your own information, these names—according to present arrangements—would be made known only to our own people, not to the military authorities. For the latter, numbers we hope will suffice.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ Oliver Haywood

CIO/NEV:blj
Distribution:
Orig. - Addressee
1 - Hughes (as stated above)
1 - CIO
2 - RI

1 - TONIC CHRONO

SECRET

14-00000

In reply refer
to: W-1954

11 March 1952

Dear Miss

I should appreciate your discussing a matter of some interest to us with Kenneth Walters. If agreeable to him and to you, we should like to have from you a few sheets of Radio Free Europe stationery to use for a letter, along the lines of the attached draft, to an individual in Panama City who has a radio station useful to our purposes. The draft is, I believe, self-explanatory, although not necessarily in the final form the letter will take. In case you are willing to assist us as suggested, we would handle the money and accountings for it. You will note, however, that the possibility exists that the funds will be attributed to Kenneth's organization.

Please return with your reply the enclosed draft. We will provide you with a copy of the letter which is sent, if the plan is carried out.

Sincerely,

Oliver Haywood

CIO/NRV:blj
Distribution:
Orig - Addressee
1 - CIO
2- RI
1 - TWIC Chrono
1 - IO/D/TO

14-00000

New York
10 December 1951

Mr. James Clarendon
Radio Station Continental
Panama City

Dear Jim,

Following up our talk of last summer, I believe I am now in a position to assist you in your efforts to combat international communism in the Panama area. During the past few months I could not help but think of your experience with the French Underground after you were shot down and of how you no doubt have a personal interest in letting people in Panama know what must be done to keep the western world free.

Unfortunately, Radio Free Europe, by the very nature of its charter, cannot engage in activities within this hemisphere. But in the course of our campaign, I have been approached by a group of persons, representing an international religious denomination and several large business firms, who would like to invest in keeping our hemisphere free of the communist menace.

I am, therefore, [illegible] to this group that they send you the sum of $500.00 per month for an indefinite period with which to have you support any programs of [illegible] that you consider effective in explaining and [illegible] the [illegible] of freedom in the Americas. [illegible] run by a local organization would accomplish [illegible].

There is [illegible] reason why such a local organization should not get credit [illegible] programs, but, of course, if need arises there would be no objection to your explaining the source of the funds.

In order to satisfy its [illegible], the group would appreciate receiving a [illegible] monthly accounting indicating station symbols, wave lengths, [illegible] hours, costs of [illegible], and salaries of personnel.

Please let me stress [illegible], Jim, that I am [illegible] middleman in this matter privately and individually, and not in behalf of Radio Free Europe with which I am affiliated.

By the way I met [illegible] recently. He has [illegible] by now.

Let me hear whether you will be able to take this on.

Yours,

(All names except that of Clarendon are fictitious.)

Signature illegible

14-00000

Tom:
11 April 52

Mr. Dulles has taken care of para 3. Assume we are relieved of this one. [illegible]

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED [illegible]TIAL SECRET
(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO		INITIALS	DATE
1	Deputy Director, Plans	[illegible]	
2	Chief, International Org.		
3			
4			
5			
FROM		INITIALS	DATE
1	Deputy Director	A.W.D.	4/9/52
2			
3			

- [ ] APPROVAL
- [ ] ACTION
- [ ] COMMENT
- [ ] CONCURRENCE
- [x] INFORMATION
- [ ] DIRECT REPLY
- [ ] PREPARATION OF REPLY
- [ ] RECOMMENDATION
- [ ] SIGNATURE
- [ ] RETURN
- [ ] DISPATCH
- [ ] FILE

REMARKS: To Mr Braden - This was done in line with one of your recent

14-00000

31 March 1952

Dear Frank:

I have been hoping to see you here in Washington or in New York for some time past as I want to take the opportunity to tell you how much we all appreciate the outstanding work you did in connection with NCFE. When we get together, I shall have an opportunity to express this appreciation more fully.

Meanwhile, please let me know if you plan to come to Washington and I will do the same if and when I get up to New York. Unfortunately, recently I have been tied down here with very little opportunity to see my friends in New York.

Sincerely,

Frank Altschul, Esq.
40 Wall Street
New York, N. Y.

AWD:leb
Distribution
Orig. - Add.
1 cc - Chrono
1 cc - Pers
1 cc - NCFE file

14-00000

C O P Y

FRANK ALTSCHUL
730 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N. Y.

Room 1701
Tel. Judson 6-5526

April 3, 1952

Dear Allen,

Thank you for your letter. I have no present intention of coming to Washington as for the past week I have been knocked out by this virus infection that has been going around. However, I look forward to seeing you whenever you find it convenient to drop in.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ Frank

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
1308 - 29th Street, N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

14-00000

SECRET
Security Information

9-7710

5 April 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division

FROM : Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT : National Committee for a Free Europe - Radio Free Europe - Miscellaneous Recommendations for Action

REFERENCE : Memorandum from C/IO to D/DCI, DD/P and ADPC dated 27 March 1952

1. I have read the reference memorandum which I note contains quite a number of recommendations for action, some of which apply to the undersigned.

2. I would like to participate in the Princeton bull session but believe it unnecessary for CIA to be represented by so many people. If Mr. Dulles is going I should prefer to drop out. A further reason for reluctance on my part to attend this meeting is that I have already passed on to the NCFE people interested all of the ideas and information which I have on the principal theme of this discussion. I therefore feel that, until after the forthcoming meeting with the British or the development of the Psychological Strategy Paper, which is being laboriously ground out by Admiral Stevens' Ad Hoc Committee, I would have nothing new to contribute. However, if Mr. Dulles is unable to attend and you feel that I should go, I would be willing to do so.

3. Concerning your report of Frank Altschul's feeling of grievance, I should be glad to sign a letter to him if Mr. Dulles agrees that I am the proper person to do this. Pending Mr. Dulles' consideration of this matter, will you please prepare in draft form for my signature a friendly letter to Mr. Altschul in which you might comment upon the fact that NCFE-RFE now represents one of the most potent weapons in our entire arsenal, and following with an acknowledgement of the very important contribution which Mr. Altschul made toward the development and shaping of this instrument.

SECRET
Security Information

4. I am somewhat confused by the contents of the action paragraph following paragraph 3, in which you indicate that we are continuing to urge NCFE to extend cover assistance to the Kirk Committee. On the basis of our most recent conversations with Mr. Dulles and Admiral Miller, I was under the impression that you were trying to dig up some other forms of cover - particularly in view of the reluctance of the NCFE Board to extend the Crusade cover to the Kirk Committee. Perhaps this paragraph of the reference memorandum has been overtaken by events.

5. I understand that you are getting up a memorandum on the Landowsky case. I am relieved to hear that Landowsky has been recalled from Greece and that it is not intended to have him return.

(Signed) FRANK G. WISNER

FRANK G. WISNER

cc: DDCI (with reference memorandum)

SECRET

31 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Assistant Director for Policy Coordination
Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe

1. As of April 1st, this Division plans to discontinue its routine informational support to Radio Free Europe. This support, which has been carried out by a staff of about fourteen people, originated in the necessity for RFE to have access to Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Summaries, State Department information, and other overt information which came into CIA. It became apparent sometime ago there was not enough of this material to fill out RFE broadcasts and, as you know, RFE hired the so-called stringers to do the chief news-gathering job. The information sent RFE by us has for some time been accessible to RFE directly from the agencies which publish it. Our decision to cut out this service has the concurrence of RFE and makes possible the assignment of fourteen people elsewhere.

2. To take the place of this staff, IO Division proposes to have one or two people concentrate on developing ideas and policy and theme guidance for RFE along the lines which the DDCI has suggested in conversation with me. One good man of necessary talent and experience will concentrate on this full time, pulling together matters from PY Division, State and other sources. He will continue to give RFE such intelligence summaries as can be made sterile, but his principal task will be to ride herd generally on the RFE programs as our chief point of information and liaison.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - Addressee
1 cc - CIO
1 cc - IO/EXO
2 cc - RI

SECRET

C O P Y

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

AMERICAN EMBASSY,

LONDON, W.1.

29 March 1952

Dear Allen:

This is a somewhat belated acknowledgment to your note of 7 March. I expect to be back at 15 Broad around the middle of May.

C. D. wrote me about going back on the Board of the National Committee several weeks ago, and I have told him that I am favorably disposed, but would like to defer decision until I get back and have a chance to talk with him and see what my general commitments promise to be. This is one which I should like to stay with because of my early association with you and the others in setting it up. I also was very much impressed by the layout in Portugal, which I went out to see after the Lisbon meeting.

I hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Chuck

Allen W. Dulles, Esq.
1308 29th Street, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.
U. S. A.

Copy of this given to Nancy 14 Apr 52

14-00000

Tom: 3 Apr 52

Suggest you tel Adm Miller in re 28 March letter on Easy Baker to say foresee no difficulty in getting approval of funds for expenses incurred or committed (21,879.39) do this right? However, full explan of Expenses paid as of 21 Mar 52 and of Commitments as of 21 Mar 52 would be helpful. (In latter case, P.O. nos. do not identify entries) ~~As for rest — we would be~~ ~~on that~~

As for the rest, we'd be willing to work on it, if we had def. estimates. We would have to have these from you.

March 28, 1952

Dear Oliver:

Wearing my Crusade hat at this juncture, let me fill you in as best I can on the history and development of the Crusade operating budget. This is no mean job, since practically all of the transactions concerning it were verbal — a situation I hope to correct in the future, starting now. So here goes. I will make the special budget the subject of a separate letter.

In December, Abbott got the General's verbal approval of a Crusade budget for 1952 of approximately $1,000,000 if Abbott would stay on. Before any progress toward firming up this commitment had been made, difficulties arose in connection with our position vis a vis VOA. On January 17th, CD and Abbott met with everyone concerned in the problem in Ed Barrett's office. Out of this meeting came general agreement that the 1952 Crusade program should be considerably reduced in scope, which was duly reported to the Crusade Board the following day. Allen instructed Abbott to draw up a proposed budget for something under $500,000. This Abbott did under date of January 21st and transmitted it to Allen with a letter dated January 23rd.

The budget submitted, which I believe is in your hands, amounted to $488,991, covering the eleven months from February 1st to December 31st, 1952. (The Crusade had meanwhile received on January 11th, on special request, funds covering the months of December and January.)

It was initially contemplated that the total sum of $488,991 should be transferred to the Crusade in a lump. It then developed that because of fiscal year problems five-elevenths, or $222,270, would be transferred immediately.

Within a week or so from January 23rd, Abbott received telephonic approval from Allen of the $488,991 over-all, with $222,270 to be transferred in a lump sum.

Early in February, Crusade was advised it would be more convenient for you to transfer just the February allotment and postpone the lump sum payment until March. On advice, we therefore made formal request for $44,454 for February on February 19th. This payment was received by us on March 3rd. It is the only installment we have received against the total (eleven-month) Crusade 1952 budget. During my trip before last, I received verbal reassurance that the balance of the five-month figure would be forthcoming. This then is to urge you to put this in line for attention as soon as possible.

To recapitulate, this is a request specifically for $177,816, representing $44,454 a month for March, April, May, and June.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard I. Stern

March 28, 1952

Dear Oliver:

This is an attempt to give you the background of our special EASY BAKER budget. This is the balloon project, initiated last fall after the first Winds of Freedom one and scheduled for Christmastime. It was then known as Santa Claus or SUGAR CHARLIE. After definite cancelation for Christmas and postponement to Easter, it became known in our accounts as Easter Bunny or EASY BAKER.

In a memorandum to John Danewood, dated December 5, 1951, Abbott said: "Attached, also, is request to cover costs of operation Santa Claus to date. Except for some continuing preparations in the field, this too is being kept on ice pending further word from you. You will recall that AWD authorized the purchase of vehicles, etc., at our conference in his office in October. We estimated at that time that the total project would run approximately $175,000."

Formal request to the Foundation for the $51,500 was made January 3rd, together with request for December and January operating expenses. All these sums were received by Crusade January 10th.

On one of Abbott's January or February trips to your city, he received a promise to transfer to us the balance of the EASY BAKER budget ($123,500). I would strongly recommend that this would be the neatest way of handling this account. ✓ We naturally keep separate accounting for this budget and could give you an accounting to date at any time on request. To make such a transfer now would also enable you to dispose of this budget in your current fiscal year, in which an allocation for it has presumably been made.

I should perhaps set down for the record that it cannot be guaranteed that an EASY BAKER type operation, when and if it should be definitely put on the schedule, can be carried off for the original budget of $175,000. There are too many variables. And, while the major part of the budget spent or to be spent goes for quasi capital equipment, some of it goes or will go for expendable operation (publicity, communications, and the like) which would have to be repeated in connection with another balloon operation.

Attached is a schedule of expenses and commitments as of March 21st against the EASY BAKER budget. From this you will see that we have had to use general operating funds of about $21,000 for EASY BAKER as of that date. A rough estimate of additional costs of the prayer operation, which belongs to EASY BAKER, is $9,500. (I also attach for your information a mimeographed report indicating the acceptance of the prayer operation among the churches.)

To recapitulate, this is a request for transfer of the balance of $123,500 of the EASY BAKER special budget.

Sincerely yours,

[signature]

EASY BAKER BUDGET

Cash balance as of March 21, 1952	1,431.91	
Paid expenses as of March 21	50,068.09	
Total cash received against budget.................		51,500.00

Committments as of March 21, 1952:

P.O. 790	45.00	
" 780	30.50	
" 779	37.00	
" 749	333.20	
" 747	16,500.00	
" 743	757.60	
Robert Jordan (Dir. Church Prom.)	1,200.00	
German Accounting #5	1,465.00	
" " #6	1,943.00	
Total commitments		22,311.30

Total expenses and commitments	72,379.39
Total cash received on budget	51,500.00
Budget deficit as of 3/23/52	21,879.39

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED IN RESPONSE TO

CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM'S SUGGESTION OF A PRAYER MOVEMENT

(Early in March the Crusade sent letters to every house of worship in the United States, Councils of Churches, Ministerial Associations, Councils of Church Women, as well as to a few national secular organizations. These letters urged people to offer special prayers for those whose religious freedoms have been restricted because of Communist domination. The Crusade undertook to make known to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain this movement on the part of Americans and to request their prayers for us in exchange. The quotations herein which are of a congratulatory nature to the Crusade are included not out of vainglory, but because they tell part of the story: the acceptance by the First Estate of this proposal from a lay organization. On reflection it may be judged that only a lay organization could successfully make such a proposal.)

IVANHOE, MINNESOTA -

"This is a step in truly proper procedure in the struggle...between the free countries of the world and those enslaved by Marxian doctrines and practices. May God speed the plan."

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND -

"We feel here...that the Christian Church is in a period of greatest opportunity in light of recent persecutions and restrictions throughout the world. History has shown that in periods similar to these, the Church has grown large enough for the task ahead of it. ...prayers for those who are under persecution and restriction throughout the world are offered... every Sunday...

"After a full year of such a program for the peoples of the enslaved areas, our own people have grown more acutely conscious of the problem facing the Christian Church. ...enlightenment upon Christianity's greatest competitor, Communism, is necessary for those of us who are still gripped with complacency. Besides enlightenment, it would be of help to our own people that prayers and thoughts of those people behind the Iron Curtain are for our strength to help them conquer their enslaving ideologies.

"We will make public this letter and renew our efforts to make our own people more conscious of the need. Our prayers will be for the people of the world and the persecution that they might have religious freedom and, above all, be worthy of that freedom when it comes. We ask their prayers for our strength in a fight against a deadly enemy called 'complacency and religious pride.' I would like to recall that prayer cannot be separated from action and that our prayer is for the Crusade for Freedom and that our action will be in helping you."

WESTFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

"...hope that you will be able to get behind the Iron Curtain with the specific information that Christian people are united in praying for this freedom for all. It is my intention to include...a special prayer in which the entire congregation will unite as a part of the Crusade for Freedom."

TUTTLE, NORTH DAKOTA

"I think God for the Crusade for Freedom, and for the leaders who give of their time and strength for such a worthy cause. I can assure you of my support."

DRESDEN, TENNESSEE

"God grant that the common effort of all toward this campaign shall not be in vain, but shall eventually lead to the lasting peace and freedom that all peoples cherish so much."

CENTERMORELAND, PENNSYLVANIA

"...pledge my support in your prayer campaign... On each Sunday special intercession will be made. We shall ask not only that their...freedom... be restored but that the...gospel may make easier the burdens of oppression which they now carry.

"Our prayers shall be with the Crusade for Freedom as it continues its splendid efforts in behalf of a great cause. May we be always of the side of God in the battle for right and truth."

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

"...will begin special prayers on Sunday, March 23... By prayer, by daily acts of self denial and by constant expressions of material charity, the members of this congregation are doing, and will continue to do, everything in their power to assist the Crusade. May God bless and prosper your work."

MANCHESTER, GEORGIA

"It is indeed gratifying to know that there are yet God fearing men... who are willing under God to promote such a worthy cause as the Crusade for Freedom. May God richly bless you and give you spiritual courage to carry on as a clarion in this dark hour of spiritual need."

DENVER, COLORADO

"We shall be most happy in this parish to do something specific in a spiritual way for the restoration of freedom of religion in the satellite countries. It will be announced to our congregation on Sunday, March 16th, that a special Mass will be offered on the fourth Sunday of Lent, on Passion Sunday, on Palm Sunday and again on Easter Sunday for religious freedom behind the Iron Curtain. I can assure you that in this parish many hundreds of prayers and Holy Communions will be offered to Almighty God for our distressed brothers and sisters behind the Iron Curtain. God grant that your request will receive the response that it so richly deserves. Humble prayers will be more potent than the most effective bomb."

HOLYOKE, MASSACHUSETTS

"This silent prayer was inserted in our order of worship yesterday in response to your request.

"Father, we thank Thee for the privilege of worship, and for the freedom to listen, to think, and to speak as Thy Spirit directs. Make us deeply sensitive to the sufferings of the peoples of Eastern Europe and of Asia, to whom this freedom is now denied. Open their hearts and lives as well as ours, we pray Thee, to the message of the Gospel of Christ."

NEWCASTLE, MAINE

"I am very happy to cooperate...it is often difficult to make people understand that...we are part of a great world movement. If only each individual in each tiny place could and would realize he...can in a small way further the cause of peace and justice..."

ROSEBURG, OREGON

"...our congregation has been much aware of the needs and the available power through prayer. We shall continue to do everything we can. Thank you for encouraging the Church people to broaden their vistas and horizons of the prayer experience."

SPRINGFIELD CENTER, NEW YORK

"...sincerely trust the response to your appeal will prove so universal that the prayers of millions of earnest and loyal Christians will prove so overwhelming that with God's help we shall be miraculously successful in bringing to naught the diabolical machinations of the godless Soviet Tyrants..."

CONCEPTION, MISSOURI

"On March 23, I shall conduct a Day of Recollection and direct it toward the aims and purposes of the Crusade. The Seminarians will be asked to continue their prayers on the following Sundays for this purpose. If there is any other way in which we can be of help, please call on us."

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

"It was most gratifying to learn that you ... in the Crusade for Freedom recognize the value of prayer to the extent that you are willing to solicit the prayers of God's people for those who are in need.

"Be assured of the prayers of the members of my Church ... over eight hundred members and myself in this worthy endeavor. I am persuaded that the God that controls all the wealth of this world is going to honor you and your colleagues materially and spiritually because of your approach to this matter."

DURANT, OKLAHOMA

"...I promise that we ... in this area will cooperate in prayers for peace and freedom ..."

YORK, PENNSYLVANIA

"We shall print on our Bulletin the following prayer, on the four Sundays beginning with March 23rd, and shall ask our people to use it as a congregation and personally. The prayer follows:

"Almighty God, Thou who are truth and love, in whom is justice, righteousness, and liberty, we bow in sincere and earnest prayer that Thy power may bring the blessings of full freedom to worship Thee and serve Thee, to all Thy children who dwell in lands where men know not this freedom. Grant unto them that through Thy grace they, and we, may rejoice to know Thee, to worship Thee, and to serve Thee. We ask this through Him who died that men might live in Thee, the only true God and Father of us all. Amen."

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

"On Sunday, March 23rd ... will offer special prayers ... will repeat these prayers from time to time thereafter ..."

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

" I enclose a copy of a prayer...

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we beseech thee to bring a righteous and just peace into our world. Cleanse the hearts of the men of all nations of petty provincialism, of envy and of hatred and endow all their leaders with humility and courage to know and to do thy will. And more especially we pray for the people of Russia and their leader, Josef Stalin, that they and he, being cleansed from False Doctrine, may be brought to the light of thy truth and may seek peace and understanding rather than discord and war. Grant to our own nation a deeper sense of responsibility in using the power thou hastgiven her,

"...and enlighten those we have set in authority over us so that they may honestly try to further thy will. Finally, we pray for thy Holy Church. Wherever she may be, that she may be revived by thine indwelling spirit and made the sure instrument of union for all men in our divided world. Pardon the imperfection of this our prayer and in all things thy will be done. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

MINONK, ILLINOIS

"Please put us down as another church with a world view and ... a concern for religious liberty ... of our Christian brethren behind political curtains in Europe and Asia. All good success to you in 'our' campaign to overcome evil with good, to fight the big lie of communism with the big truth of universal freedom, freedom 'in Christ', which we in God-blessed America so enjoy today."

FROM A CITY COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

"We rejoice in this gesture from Crusade for Freedom and join with you in special prayers."

TUNICA, MISSISSIPPI

"We think the idea is a good one, and we shall join with you, using the following prayer:

"O Almighty God, whom to know aright is life eternal, whom to serve aright is perfect freedom, grant, we beseech thee, the restoration of religious freedom to oppressed peoples everywhere, but particularly to those in the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe. Give them hope, fill them with courage, strengthen their determination until the iron yoke of Communism is broken by the power of Christ, in whose name we pray. Amen."

BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK plans to use the following prayer which came from "Prayers for Men in Service":

"For the Oppressed: O God, The Creator of men and of nations, we implore Thy fatherly care and protection in behalf of all Thy children everywhere who suffer persecution. In all their trials and tribulations be Thou their Refuge and Strength. Impart to them Thine own comfort and courage. Turn the hearts of the oppressors from evil to good. Stop the hands and convert the wills of those who would array brother against brother in racial strife. Restore to all men everywhere the blessing of religious freedom. Fill our hearts and inspire our minds with a desire firmly to establish peace and justice, liberty and fraternity throughout the world; for His sake, who suffered for all mankind, Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

"...pleased to join all Christians of this country in a Crusade for Freedom. Daily we are praying for the restoration of religious freedom to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. May God bless your effort in promoting Christian freedom and peace in this world."

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

"With deep emotion we ... assure you of our wholehearted cooperation .... Religious liberty throughout the world has long been a special intention remembered here. We shall not fail to ask Him to inspire Pastors to encourage their congregations to do all possible to cooperate."

CHAMBERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

"...it is planned in our congregation to place special emphasis in our Sunday Bulletin on March 23 upon the matter of prayers, personal and corporate, for restoration of religious liberties to repressed people. We shall, also, make a personal announcement calling attention to the printed program and trust that in this way, we may share in the 'Crusade for Freedom.' Your move seems to be one that should enlist the thinking and efforts of all Christian people."

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

"...we conduct a Novena here ... every Sunday night using the booklet, 'Crusade for Peace.' During this Novena we include all the intentions of the entire world.and in a special way the intentions for your Crusade for Freedom."

GRANVILLE, NORTH DAKOTA

"In response to your letter, I included special prayers in my pastoral prayers today. It will be good of you to ask the peoples of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other lands under the oppression of Russia to pray for us. We need to understand them and to receive their understanding. God help us all.

"How can we possibly retain our own freedoms unless we desire freedom for these others? One of the greatest freedoms surely must be freedom from self-righteousness. Will they pray for this freedom for us?

"'Blessed are they who feel their spiritual need,' Goodspeed translates it."

HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY

"... constructive suggestion of prayer ... We will join other Christian churches in this program. We will begin at once. Your letter will be ... posted ... Prayer changes things ... Count on us."

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

"Will be glad to cooperate.. Beginning Sunday, March 23 and every Sunday thereafter the congregation ... will pray for your intention. ... A very fine idea."

COLUMBUS, OHIO

"We are glad to have a chance to share in this great crusade."

CHUGWATER, WYOMING

"...was glad to learn that the Crusade for Freedom is looking for help to The Almighty God, and He indeed can help the people behind the Iron Curtain.

"I have been praying daily not only for my own dear ones who are behind the Iron Curtain but for all people who are enslaved by Communists. God's gracious Hand had lead me out from the Iron Curtain and how glad I am to be in free America."

PASCOAG, RHODE ISLAND

"You may include (us) ... as spiritual contributors to your worthy cause."

CONVERSE, INDIANA

"My sincere congratulations and gratitude that you are presenting the matter of united prayer for freedom ... I assure you also that I will present the challenge ... to our people and that we'll join with you and all churches of America in praying for the freedom that we believe is the natural right of all men."

ENDICOTT, NEW YORK

"Starting March 23rd we will have a public prayer every Sunday ... May God bless you and your great work for freedom. I am sure that with the prayers of Our great Nation and all Freedom-loving people, Almighty God in his infinite goodness and love will answer our prayers and all the things you are trying to accomplish in the Crusade for Freedom will be fulfilled."

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

"To establish such a prayer chain from the concerned peoples of this nation to the concerned peoples behind the Iron Curtain, in fact, to the Christian peoples behind any curtain in the world, will create a pool of resources that will strike fire in the hearts of believing Christian people. It is certainly one of the most important things to do alongside other preparation for World Peace."

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA - From a Church bulletin

"Beginning Sunday, March 23, and continuing, the Crusade for Freedom, which encourages those behind the 'iron curtain' in their desperate struggle for religious liberty, asks for our earnest prayers for those who have been deprived of their freedom to worship according to the dictates of conscience. PRAY."

The president of a Lutheran STATE SYNOD, in addition to acquiring newspaper notice, wrote the following letter to his confreres:

"Dear Brethren, Seeking to abide by the request of the Crusade for Freedom that each church in America have special prayers beginning Sunday, March 23, and each Sunday thereafter for the 'restoration of religious liberties to the peoples in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe,' and to strengthen the power of praying peoples for the advancement of God's Kingdom, I hereby request that each pastor write out a prayer that may be used in conjunction with the General Prayer in my service each Sunday morning, and as a special collect for the Vesper Services.

(continued)

CHESTER, CONNECTICUT

"In addition to making special note each Sunday morning service, we shall see to it that some space is allotted in our monthly pastoral letter for a suggestion of prayer for other men who are denied corporate worship."

ELLICOTT CITY, MARYLAND

"We feel sure that they know of our concern, and we know in our hearts they are praying that our faith fail not. Anything that the Crusade for Freedom can do to carry the message of our continued concern, will be appreciated."

SAN BRUNO, CALIFORNIA

"We shall be more than happy to continue to remember this great effort in prayer and ask God's blessing upon you who direct this undertaking."

* * * * * * * * * * *

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTERS

"The Crusade's plan for mass prayers...for the people behind the Iron Curtain who have been denied freedom of religious worship certainly is a commendable one. The need for faith throughout the world has never been greater, and that there should be freedom to worship as one wishes is fundamental to the principles by which we in America live. Members of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters...will...demonstrate their friendship for the world's oppressed people by supporting...the Crusade for Freedom."

PILOT CLUB INTERNATIONAL

"The Crusade for Freedom is doing a wonderful work and it is a privilege to cooperate in every way possible."

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

"As Commander-in-Chief...I happily endorse this Crusade for Freedom movement with a pledge of our complete sympathy, cooperation and support."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

"Prayer is a mighty force, a mighty unused power. Let us all, here in America and elsewhere in the world put this mighty power to work."

AMVETS

"AMVETS wholeheartedly endorse the Crusade for Freedom sponsored movement for mass prayers...for the people behind the Iron Curtain who have been denied the freedom of religious worship which is the proud heritage of every American.

"There is a great need for a spiritual rebirth in this world torn with hatred and fears. The unity of peoples under a common God will do much to wash away the causes of unrest which haunt us today and will lead to the mutual objectives of peace-loving people everywhere.

"We are proud to call upon our members throughout the nation to participate...

AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION

"...the American Dental Association...endorse your plan for mass prayers... for the people behind the Iron Curtain.

"The members of this Association long have supported the Crusade for Freedom and...will be pleased to participate in this demonstration of the freedom of religious worship."

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT - AFL

"We will send out a circular letter to our local...Councils throughout the country asking them to join in the mass prayers..."

NEW YORK STATE BANKERS ASSOCIATION: ...pleased to cooperate...and urge our membership to participate.....THE AMERICAN LEGION: ...your efforts will receive our wholehearted support.....BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA: ...joins with the Crusade... and all religious faiths in praying.....KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL: ...a splendid idea.....UNITED STATES JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE: ...will certainly do everything we can...to get our organizations to assist in any way.....AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION: ...sending copies of your letter to all of our state organizations, with a note encouraging their participation.....THEATRE OWNERS OF AMERICA: ...action on our part...will strengthen...religious faith...and keep alive the hope of ultimate freedom from all oppression.....SUPREME LODGE KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS: ...your program...for mass prayers...is indeed commendable..... DIRECT MAIL ADVERTISING ASSOCIATION, INC: ...in complete accord with this movement...

March 21, 1952

BEAVER, OKLAHOMA

"Thanks for promoting this thought."

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

"Every day (we) join in prayer for Peace and the welfare of those behind the Iron Curtain. ... We feel privileged to join all Christians on this day of prayer."

VAUX HALL, NEW JERSEY

"It is a worthwhile gesture ... We know God is pleased with it and certainly pray that all churches will comply with this request; we certainly shall."

DENVER, COLORADO

"Our church shall gladly remember this very important program in prayer, and we will greatly appreciate the prayers of our Christian friends everywhere."

PIKEVILLE, KENTUCKY

"This is a very small parish, but I will urge all to cooperate in this worthy cause. I will not exempt myself of the same obligation."

DUPREE, SOUTH DAKOTA

"... together we shall pray for our brethren who have lost their freedom..."

BLOOMFIELD, IOWA

"Grateful to you for this move and hoping for great success ..."

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

"May God bless you in this effort; and those unfortunate ones for whom we pray."

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

"It is a pleasure to cooperate in your request for prayers starting Sunday, March 23. In fact, we will start tomorrow ... God bless you and your confreres in your work."

OSHKOSH, NEBRASKA

"I appreciate your getting word to them of our interest in their welfare, and believe that such a plan is a real forward step ..."

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

"... our church will gladly join you in praying for these our brothers and sisters. I am glad to know that you consider prayer as having a major place in the affairs of the world. ..."

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

"Congratulations upon your forward step in seeking cooperation and freedom through prayer. You may count on us and our two churches ..."

PEABODY, KANSAS

"We shall take this matter seriously and make it a definite part of the Morning Worship Period ... we shall make PRAYERS FOR FREEDOM a part of our thought."

ASHVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

"The student body ... enthusiastically endorse your plan for special prayers ... and will not only participate themselves but will do everything in their power to increase the knowledge of the movement and gain widest participation from others."

PUTNEY, VERMONT

"The students ... wish to join in this crusade. Beginning on Sunday, March 23, we shall say each day a decade of the Rosary for the intentions you recommend."

DELCAMBRE, LOUISIANA

"That we all recognize the necessity of turning to God for help and guidance in restoring the world to Christian ideals is the most hopeful sign of the times."

HOUSTON, TEXAS

"There is power in prayer. Our congregation will join you and others in your prayer plan, ..."

LAWRENCE, KANSAS

"... beginning March 23 we shall make special mention in the morning bulletin and give definite place in the program for the fellowship of prayer."

SOUTH CAYUGA, ONTARIO

"... let me assure you that we are with you in this great Crusade of Prayer."

LAKELAND, FLORIDA

"... want to encourage you in your Crusade for Freedom, and remind you that we who are of grass roots ... are ringing the bell."

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

"I think this is a very fine thought and trust that ministers and congregations throughout our nation will undergird your labors with prayer and faith."

FROM AN ARCHDIOCESE

"In conformity with the request of the Crusade for Freedom we are asking all the Catholic Churches in the Archdiocese to continue to recite prayers for those ... under Communist domination."

MT. GILEAD, NORTH CAROLINA

"We will join in the continuing prayer for Religious Freedom."

BUNKER HILL, INDIANA

"This world under God can have a new birth of freedom by the very method you are suggesting. Praying for each other is the real method to bring our world out of its darkness and fear."

BROKEN BOW, NEBRASKA

"Our morning congregation ... voted almost unanimously to share your prayers for the peoples in the satellite countries ..."

MILLVILLE, NEW JERSEY

"I presented the matter to my congregation ... and our people pledge their prayers beginning with Sunday, March 23, to the oppressed peoples ..."

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

"... most happy to cooperate. May God bless you and your associates with wisdom and insight as you strive to free both the bodies and the minds of the people from dictatorships of all kinds."

BIRCHWOOD, WISCONSIN

"Realizing the importance of this work, I do promise to ask the continuing prayers of our people for all our brothers and sisters in Christ who are presently suffering religious persecution."

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON

"Be assured we are most happy to join in this crusade of prayer on week days as well as on Sundays."

PETOSKEY, MICHIGAN

"... Ministerial Association in meeting on March 10 voted to have its Secretary send you word that we will continue our support of your program as in the past. Beginning with March 23, we will make sure that prayers are given in each church."

COLLEGEVILLE, MINNESOTA

"I endorse most heartily your Crusade for Freedom ... and hope that it will receive an enthusiastic response throughout America."

OIBON, NORTH CAROLINA

"I shall count it a privilege to call upon my people to pray thus, and will myself make this an object both of my personal prayers and those made publicly."

LIBERTY, MISSOURI

"May God bless you and your earnest efforts for these people. ... we have a family in our church who were D.P.'s and whom our people have helped. They are ... proving well worth any help and prayer. Therefore, we are close to this problem and understand it somewhat. God guide you and may He give to these wounded and gentle people their freedom again."

MONROE, LOUISIANA

"Our people are sharing in the Crusade for Freedom by prayer for our friends behind the Iron Curtain as well as for the forces of righteousness engaged in the propagation of the Truth ..."

ADA, OKLAHOMA

"In my judgment this is one of the most real ways in which Christians can combat the menace of communism in our world."

GREEN SPRINGS, OHIO

"Thank you for inviting the people of our churches to share in the special prayers ... we are happy to have a part in this great Christian enterprise. Yes, and in turn we will be glad to have the Crusade ask these people for their intercessory prayers for us. Surely God will bless this concern."

ELGIN, ILLINOIS

"May God multiply and fulfill your greatest hope and prayers, in which I shall be glad to join."

MANHASSET, NEW YORK

"Your challenge to pray for those who have been deprived of their spiritual freedom is timely and greatly needed. The religious liberty which we enjoy in America should be a cherished heritage, and one which we seek to share with the peoples of the world. I trust that the Crusade for Freedom will be successful in many parts of the world."

DUBLIN, TEXAS

"I think this is a most worthy and wise enterprise, and I wish for it the greatest success. I am greatly interested in the world situation and think there ought to be done much more concerted praying in the nation today. I see little hope for us otherwise."

WATERFORD, VIRGINIA

"We promise to join you in special prayers for them beginning Sunday, March 23rd, and shall continue praying until these people are granted religious liberty. Thank you for your interest. May God crown your efforts with success -- and soon."

BURLINGAME, CALIFORNIA

"We will remember them in our prayers particularly on March 23rd ..."

JOHN DAY, OREGON

"...we will be very glad to do our share ..."

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

"The world needs a greater faith in God today and all religious leaders should have a part in this prayer effort."

BRISTOL, VIRGINIA

"We shall not only support this Crusade in our own church but also expect to sponsor special radio programs over our best radio station. Be assured of our interest and prayers."

(continued)

"Hoping that you will comply with my request and the request of the Crusade for Freedom to remember at the Throne of Grace, those whose opportunities to worship our God and Father, are not as great as those of the peoples of America,

I am,

Yours in the Master's Service ..."

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

"We shall pray, as you suggested, during these ... meetings, during the pastoral prayers, and 'at' other services in our church. You are on the right track. God will richly bless your efforts, the prayers of the peoples of the world."

CINCINNATI, OHIO

"The ... boys and young men preparing for the priesthood ... will be glad to join with thousands, and I hope millions, of other spiritual-minded Americans in praying."

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

"You may be assured that you will have our prayers for all the things which the Crusade for Freedom is endeavoring to accomplish."

MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION, INDIANA

"We, are grateful for this opportunity to express our conviction that this spiritual relationship between peoples is a vital part of the progress toward freedom."

BISHOP, TEXAS

"There are many Catholics in the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain. They will understand this language. Much simpler still, if you only let them know that here in this parish of Mexican farm-laborers as in many another Catholic church in America we are fervorously trying to put into action the peace plan of Our Lady of Fatima. I am sure they will be greatly comforted by this message."

14-00000

SECRET

Mr. John C. Hughes,
c/o McCampbell & Co.,
40 Worth Street,
New York 13, New York.

Dear John:

My promised thoughts on a matter of our mutual concern, raised in your 28 January letter, are given in the enclosed copy of a letter being sent concurrently to Min Miller. You will note from the enclosure that Min knows we are forwarding you a copy of the letter to him. Min will certainly welcome your advice in planning the approach to the Defense Department. While the Director and I should, of course, like very much to assist in the effort to obtain the directive from Defense which Lucom explained to Lang was necessary, we feel that, for reasons of security, we should not do so initially and, for the same reason, we would rather have you carry the ball all the way, if possible.

Min will undoubtedly keep us both advised of such efforts as he and Lang shall plan, and if in the course of their negotiations, an opportunity presents itself for either the Director or me to be of assistance, you know that you may count on us to do so. A copy of this letter is also attached, in case you have an opportunity to hand it to Min.

My kindest personal regards to you.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles

Attachments 2
As stated above

CIO/MBV:bw (date ?)

Distribution:
Addressee - original and 1
DDCI - 1
ER - 1
CIO - 1
RI - 2

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED (G4-351) FREE

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS.—Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: SAR/R.J. Smith

NO:

DATE: 27 March 1952

TO—	ROOM NO.	DATE RECEIVED	DATE FORWARDED	OFFICER'S INITIALS
1. SPC/Von Kann	K 2044		29 Mar	VK
2. C-PY				
3. CIO				JWB
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
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11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				

COMMENTS

29 March 52

Bailey phoned me about this case a day or so ago and it seems that there is considerable pressure abuilding on the part of Mr. Scripps to be allowed to use the large balloons overtly. He is hoping to be able to get an answer to these people prior to the April 2nd meeting. Whether this is possible or not, I do not know.

It may be that this question must be raised again with the POCC since they were in on it at the beginning. Actually this may be an opportunity to have some overt agency do a job for us and the request should be evaluated on that basis.

VK

Was discussed informally at PSB luncheon on March 27th. Besides Dulles, Wisner, Foster, Sargeant, Bruce, Barnes & Allen present.

EXT 765

FORM 51-9 FREE RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

27 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: SPC

SUBJECT: Leaflet Balloons for use in Psychological Warfare

1. On at least four occasions Mr. William Scripps, Detroit News, directly or indirectly has approached the Government with proposals for utilization of balloons for psychological warfare. Following is a list of the dates and method of these approaches:

a. 12 October 1950 - Letter from General W. J. Donovan to DCI enclosing "Operation Ballast." On 1 November 1950 William H. Jackson responded to this memorandum to the effect that this suggested operation was being referred to the appropriate persons and suggesting a subsequent meeting with Donovan to discuss this and other matters.

b. In November 1950 as we were undertaking planning for development of balloons with General Mills, we were informed that Mr. Scripps planned a general meeting to be held in Washington to discuss balloons. Through the General Mills Washington Representative Mr. Scripps was persuaded to keep his meeting general and was informed that the various agencies of the Government had the matter under consideration and considered that it would not be in the public interest at this time to disclose the nature of their findings. Consequently, Mr. Scripps forwarded us on 1 December 1950 a proposal "The Use of Free Balloons for Load Carrying Purposes" which we acknowledged on 11 December 1950.

c. On December 26, 1950 General Smith received a letter from Blair Moody summarizing a suggestion from Mr. William Scripps for encouraging defection of Chinese Communist troops. A routine response to his letter was sent 6 January 1951 from Mr. Jackson. I believe also Mr. Moody called upon the Director in early February of 1951 to discuss use of balloons for psychological warfare. ADPC addressed a briefing memorandum to DCI on 12 February 1951, Subj: Balloons for Carrying PW Material to Soviet Areas.

2. In September 1950 the NPSB requested that CIA should represent all interested agencies of this Government and should accordingly take steps to develop, procure and stockpile an appropriate number of scientifically designed balloons for future propaganda use in conditions of international emergency. At meetings of the NPSB on 13 February 1951 and 11 June 1951 it was agreed that OPC would procure and stockpile 1,000 large leaflet balloons for use by the appropriate agency when and if such use was authorized. The Board also agreed that inquiries which the various govern-

mental agencies

CONFIDENTIAL

mental agencies might receive concerning use of balloons would be answered to the effect "that the matter is under continuous study by agencies of the Government but disclosure of results at this time would not be in the public interest."

3. A perusal of the NPSB minutes since June 1951 did not indicate further consideration by that group of the subject of balloons. From this we must infer that CIA still bears the responsibility of the commitment made by Mr. Wisner for procurement.

4. For your information this research and development has been conducted for CIA by General Mills with ONR serving as the cut-out. An existing project "Skyhook" which ONR had with General Mills was accelerated to cover development of leaflet balloons continued along with ONR's program of cosmic ray research. We/are obligated to ONR to deny a newspaper access to these drawings, specifications, movies and reports which bear a SECRET classification.

5. I might make one small suggestion that since Mr. Blair Moody is now a Senator and running for re-election in the next election, it might be possible to solicite his aid in bringing Mr. Scripps in line with adopted policy regarding balloons should it become necessary.

R Smith
ROSALYN J. SMITH

14-00000

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: RDD/TSS

ACCESSION NO

DATE RECEIVED IN S A.

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE RECEIVED	DATE FORWARDED	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1 Col. VonKann	2044 K	MAR 26 1952		VK	Attached is the Memorandum for the Record mentioned in our telephone discussion 25 March 1952. Drawings and specifications of this item are in the possession of RDD, although the information is also on hand at General Mills. It carries a SECRET classification under our contractual arrangements with the U. S. Navy. Questions: 1. Does CIA still have the commitment made by Mr. Wisner to the National Psychological Strategy Board for procuring 1,000 of these balloon units for stockpile and use by any agency deemed advisable by that group? 2. Should RDD release the SECRET drawings and specifications, movies and reports on trial operations for use by the Detroit News? L. R. Dailey
2 SAR				RSmith	
3					
4 Col VonKann					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					

FORM NO. 51-9 SEP 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

14-00000

cc: [illegible] Haglund

Mr. F. B. Jewett, Jr. 3/18/52

C. B. Moore

TELEPHONE CALLS, WILLIAM SCRIPPS, DETROIT NEWS CONFIDENTIAL

On 7 March, William Scripps of the Detroit News, called and asked for price estimate in lots of 100,000 of a carrier balloon system which would carry 300 pounds great distances. On discussion, it appeared that he was interested in something equivalent to our interim system, so I told him we had made a quotation on such a piece of equipment in quantities for prices in the range of $350 a unit. This piece of equipment under the expected wind condition, should carry 150 pounds 1500 miles and deliver it with the best possible accuracy from a balloon vehicle.

I asked him if he wanted specifications, but he said he would get these later. He was working with a group who would use them to carry propaganda, and he would see us in two weeks, and then would discuss and obtain exhibits. It was pointed out to him that this equipment and polyethylene were well controlled by the government. This appeared to be no problem to him.

Scripps called again on 18 March, and asked if we could attend a luncheon in Detroit Wednesday noon, the 2nd of April, and then go on to New York for a luncheon Thursday noon. He asked that we bring along data, cost estimates, exhibits, and all sales data, as well as movies, to this meeting. I asked if this had been cleared with Abbott's friends, and he didn't appear to know what I was talking about. I told him that some clearance would have to be obtained before either the gear was shown, or before it would be permitted to leave the country. Scripps is most enthusiastic about support forthcoming to carry such an operation forward, and felt that the State Department would interpose no objections for the program planned.

Scripps asked that we confirm on 19 March whether or not you and I would be able to attend. This I promised to do. I would also like your guidance as to what course should be pursued in this. It is believed that certainly Dailey or Gates Lloyd should be made aware of this effort, so that we may deport ourselves accordingly. Incidentally, Dewey and Almy will be at both meetings, in New York and Detroit. Upon asked if we had any objections, I said, "Of course not."

CBM:he
cc: J. R. Smith
G. O. Haglund

CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

20 ~~25~~ 44

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

02-7693

[illegible] by D DCI

27 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Assistant Director for Policy Coordination
Deputy Director (Plans)
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Conversation with Admiral Miller

I shall make a practice of bringing to your attention current matters for discussion between Admiral Miller and me, the first of which took place today and covered the following items:

1. At the suggestion of Bob Lang, seconded later by NCFE's Chairman, Joseph Grew, Admiral Miller wants to hold at the Princeton Inn on the 10th and 11th of May a general discussion of United States policy toward Iron Curtain countries, with particular emphasis upon what new lines, if any, Radio Free Europe should take. The background of this, according to Admiral Miller, is that Lang and others within RFE feel that the time is running out behind the Iron Curtain, that the people are ready for revolution and that we cannot continue much longer the "hold everything" line. They want to gather a group of experts, including Messrs. Wisner and Dulles, to discuss what policy we should now adopt.

Action

I see no reason why we shouldn't have such a general bull session and I will not attempt to discourage it unless instructed.

2. Admiral Miller recently had a talk with Frank Altschul who complained somewhat of his treatment at the hands of NCFE and CIA, saying that he had never even had so much as a word of thanks for the work he did. Miller suggested that the DDCI might want to write such a letter and that, if so, a similar letter should go to Dewitt Poole.

Action

For the DDCI to write a letter might smack a little of thanking himself since he was engaged in the Altschul regime in the New York operation. I therefore suggest that the DD/P, when he finds an early opportunity to write to Altschul on some matter, mention his gratitude.

SECRET

3. Miller hopes that no decision has been made to put Admiral Kirk and his Committee for the Liberation of the Russian People under Crusade for Freedom cover. He thinks this would be a great mistake because it would further stretch the already too thin cover of the Crusade and he further says that if it has to be done, he cannot agree that the Crusade effort should be lessened according to the agreement with the State Department.

Action

I understand that subsequently Admiral Miller talked to Mr. Dulles who made it clear that no decision had been made to put Admiral Kirk and his Committee under the Crusade but that we here in CIA would much appreciate it if NCFE could see its way clear to doing so. ? Admiral Miller agreed that he would take the matter up with the Board of Directors and if they were favorably inclined, CIA would take up with State the possibility of amending to some extent the decision to cut down on the Crusade in order to try to furnish better cover for this operation.

4. Admiral Miller said that Landowsky and Ranft were still in Greece, that the situation was impossible and that one of them must go. He said that his advice from Bob Lang was that the NCFE man was the better of the two and therefore it should be Landowsky who must go.

Action

The history of this problem is involved and long. Landowsky has been called home, however, and will not go back to Greece so that it no longer remains a problem. I have told Admiral Miller.

5. Admiral Miller has been talking to the Ford Foundation on the subject of the Hildebrand operation in Berlin. The Board had taken a dim view on the accountings, a matter which he straightened out by promising better ones. Ford raised the question of whether or not NCFE wanted Ford to spend the additional $50,000 pledged after the payments of the present $50,000 eight months from now. C. D. Jackson was present at this meeting and told Ford he did not feel the operation was worth an additional $50,000. Miller reserved judgment, however. He wanted to know whether CIA wished him to hold Ford to its pledge of an additional $50,000 or not.

Action

I have checked this with the EE Division, which has cabled the field and come to the view that this operation is still very important. They want to urge Admiral Miller to hold Ford to its agreement. I passed this on to Admiral Miller.

6. On 28 January John Hughes wrote a letter to Mr. Dulles asking CIA's view of the problem of the evacuation of RFE employees in Munich and elsewhere in the event of war. He said he thought this problem was extremely important and there had been no answer to the letter.

Action

This Division received this letter last week and we are working on it. Meantime I suggest Mr. Dulles sign the attached note to John Hughes.

Thomas W. Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Draft ltr to John Hughes.

CIO:TWB/eh

Orig - DDCI (thru DD/P & ADPC)
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

14-00000

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

27 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Assistant Director for Policy Coordination

SUBJECT: Crusade for Freedom

Today the Director discussed with Mr. Henry Ford, II the possibility of his assuming the Chairmanship of the Crusade for Freedom next year. I understand that Mr. Ford is warm.

Tom Braden

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

SECRET

14-00000

In reply refer to: W-1939

26 March 1952

Dear Min:

A little incident has caused a bit of trouble and a flurry of cables here that I think you can correct very quickly. Spencer Phenix's assistant, Mr. Miller, has written to Leon Dennen telling Dennen that Miller has been called in by our shop and questioned in detail about recent Dennen accounting.

Whether or not he was questioned in detail is a matter on which he and I might disagree but is really of no consequence since the accounting by Dennen should normally go through us to Miller, and I think you would agree that we had a right to ask questions about it. What bothers me a little, however, is Miller's writing to Dennen, giving details of how our two offices work together. Dennen, it turns out, was annoyed by the content of Miller's letter, not so much at Miller as at us. His annoyance is misplaced but if there had been no mention by Miller of details of our relationship there would have been no annoyance.

I presume you know of Dennen's close affiliation with Lovestone and the possibility that this small thing will reverberate around and around the usual vicious circle. Can you explain to Miller how these little incidents can get blown up into big issues and ask him to use a little more discretion in the future?

Sincerely,

Oliver E. Hadwood

Admiral H. B. Miller
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.
110 W. 57th Street
New York 19, New York

CIO:TWB:eh
Orig - Addressee
1 cc - Executive Off.
2 cc - CIO
2 cc - RI

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

Executive Registry
2-7486

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: CIO

NO. 05441 Q-J 7347

DATE 27 March 1952

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. ADPC		MAR 29 1952	1 April	PAL-13 CAB	I am attaching a memorandum which I received today, the subject of which may be of general interest to you. RCB
2. DD/P Col. Taylor		2 April			
3. DDCI			4/4	Noted by D/OCI 4/4/52	
4. ~~CID~~ →					Thayer for comment / [illegible]
5. CIO					
6.					Mr. Dulles suggests sending this to Thayer for comment. REL 4 Apr 52
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

P-2166

14-00000

SECURITY INFORMATION
SECRET

Executive Registry 2-7316

25 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: EE-2
WE-3

SUBJECT: Establishment of a "Propaganda Section" in SHAPE under Control of an Hungarian Refugee.

Summarized below is a report from a reliable source in Paris with regard to the reported establishment under the control of an Hungarian refugee of a "propaganda section" in SHAPE:

"The first rumors are somewhat vague with regard to a new propaganda service which will be established in Eisenhower's Headquarters. It is a Supreme Direction of propaganda as was the case during the last war. This service will comprise military sections for propaganda on the other side of the Iron Curtain including parachute activities; also sections for classic propaganda.

"According to source's information, the head of the section for the countries of Eastern Europe will be Mr. Mihaly Zoldheyli, an Hungarian who is a Colonel of the Reserve in the French Army. Mr. Zoldheyli, about 50 years old, has had an interesting career. He left Hungary after the first revolution, he lived several years in the United States, he enjoyed, as a socialist, support of American labor, and it was at their initiative that he joined the front in Spain. Of the left, but anti-Communist, he was one of the chiefs under the pseudonym of General Santiago. Returning to France he was interned, then liberated from the camp at the personal intervention of Jules Moch, a leading French socialist politician (recently Minister of Defense). Under the pseudonym of Major Michel, he was one of the heroes of the anti-Nazi resistance in Southern France. He appeared to be the only officer in the French Army who did not have French nationality. He is married to a Frenchwoman and has one child. He now works in Paris in the office of the Force Ouvriere. He appears to be a man of confidence to both the Americans and the French."

Ellen Stern
ELLEN STERN
IO

SECRET

cc: ADPC
DD/P
DDCI

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

25 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF FINANCE DIVISION

SUBJECT: TPTONIC and TPMEDIC

It is requested that the $4,000,000 revolving fund for TPTONIC be replenished by a total of $1,302,004 to cover disbursements from TPMEDIC to TPTONIC under date of 18 March 1952 in the amounts of $924,504 and $377,500. Receipts for these disbursements from TPTONIC are being forwarded to the Finance Division, attention Mr. Edward Downey, this date, under separate cover.

GEORGE E. BREWER
Chief
Psychological Staff Division

Approved:

Thomas W. Braden
Chief, International Organizations Division

PY/Exo/REM/PAM;mb

Distribution:
Addressee - Orig & 2
CPY - 1
CIO - 1✓
RI - 2
PY/Exo - 1

SECRET

14-00000

Executive Registry
2-2187

Noted by D/DCI
4/4/52

In reply refer to:

25 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Assistant Director for Policy Coordination
Deputy Director (Plans)
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Attached Letter from Spencer Phenix

Attached is a letter from Spencer Phenix to Bob Lang in which Phenix details the story of his efforts to reach agreement with the German authorities on the status of RFE under the new post-HICOG government. I would judge that Spencer has done a wonderful job to date and that things are on the track, but I think you would be interested in reading his letter and the second attachment, which is the memorandum of understanding with the German Government on which he is now working.

THOMAS W. BRADEN
Chief
International Organizations Division

Attachment
Ltr 3 Mar 52 to Bob Lang.

SECRET

14-00000

Paris, March 3, 1952

Dear Bob,

I have not done much reporting on our German negotiations for several reasons; first, there was not much to report and, second, whatever there was Dick Condon undertook to forward from Munich. I did write C.D. a couple of letters outlining our delays and some of our uncertainties, and last week I cabled him that I would send a more detailed narrative when I got to Paris. As he is now technically no longer President of NCFE, and as Admiral Miller may not have been completely informed of all that we are trying to do, I am addressing this to you, with copy to each of them.

In the first place, let me say that progress during the last half of last week was surprisingly speedy and encouraging. There are still many opportunities for the well known "slip 'twixt the cup and the lip", and local German political considerations could rear their ugly heads at any moment. I think it must also be understood that, as Dick Condon puts it, no matter how many nor how good written agreements we may have covering our operations, the whole RFE enterprise in Germany will have to be played pretty much by ear once the contractual agreements take effect. I regard this, however, as an inescapable risk, and I mention it now only to emphasize the paramount importance of the utmost care in programming and in conduct to avoid a boner which could upset our entire apple-cart. The very favorable report which your friend Asher Lee made after his hurried inspection of Munich underlines the need for regular spot check on program output to avoid howlers, and the need for this once our relationship with the Germans is no longer through the Occupation Authorities or HICOG is even more imperative.

Dick Condon sent you from Munich the text of the proposed Bundespost license which we agreed on with Dr. Schuster on February 19, 1952, and this should long since have reached you.

Our Bonn negotiations resulted in the acceptance of this text, with two exceptions:

1) Sub-clause 2 of Article II is eliminated. You will remember that the Bundespost wished to insert a provision authorizing license cancellation if RFE should broadcast anything which "it will be the opinion of the Federal Government that the transmissions will prejudice

the interest of the Federal Republic". We objected to this on two grounds:

a) that such provision had no logical place in a technical license, and

b) that it made our position far too precarious since it exposed us to license cancellation practically at the whim of any German bureaucrat,

and we persuaded Dr. Schuster to leave it out of the license and let us discuss the problem at Bonn. At Bonn, we were fortunately able to persuade the Foreign Office officials that such a provision had no technical place in the license, and that whatever should be said on the subject should be said in an exchange of letters, or the equivalent, between the Foreign Office and ourselves. Accordingly, Article II now contains but one clause.

2) Question was raised by the Foreign Office officials at Bonn regarding the length of the license. The text Dick sent you provides for validity until August 31, 1960. The reason I chose that date was that it is the expiration date of our lease on the Holzkirchen transmitter site, and I thought that if an arbitrary term were to be fixed that tying it in with the Holzkirchen lease gave it a plausibility which would help acceptance - and that proved to be the case so far as the Bundespost was concerned.

The Foreign Office people told us, however, that numerous questions had been asked in the Bundestag regarding RFE and its programs, and that for the Government to give us a license for as long as eight years would cause serious criticism. We are a peculiar sort of animal, anyway, and for our irregular activities to be blessed with such long term approval would, they thought, be unwise for both their and our points of view. Accordingly, they suggested a four-year period; I countered with five, dating from the date of license issuance which (since it cannot take place before the contractual agreements become effective, may well be late in 1952) will give us considerably more than five years life expectancy. My own feeling is that if we have not done our job within five years, we might as well pull down the shade and go home. In any case, my counter proposal was, as I said, accepted, and Article III of the license will now read:

"This license shall be valid for a period of five years commencing with the date of its issuance and will be automatically extended thereafter from year to year unless written notice of termination is given by one party to the other not less than 90 days prior to the next expiration date."

So much for the license, the terms of which were shown to our HICOG friends and regarded by them as highly favorable.

Our political discussions suffered from a variety of frustrations. We agreed on the license terms with the Bundespost on February 19th, and an appointment was made for us to see Dr. Lenz - the official to whom Doctor Adenauer had referred our problems - at noon on Thursday, February 21, 1952. Dick and I, therefore, took an early train from Frankfort and were met at the Bonn station by Fritz Kempner who told us that the appointment had been cancelled as Dr. Lenz had been called to the Chancellery on an urgent matter. Fritz said that he had been told that if we went to Dr. Lenz's office, his assistant would make a definite appointment for us later. We did this, and were received by a smooth and non-committal individual, who said he would not be in touch with Dr. Lenz until nine o'clock that evening, and could not make any definite date until after he had spoken with Lenz.

I had the very uncomfortable feeling that we were being given a run-around, and Fritz was very much annoyed. We finally got the young chap to agree that he would try to reach Lenz before evening, and that we would telephone him during course of the afternoon to know what information he had been able to obtain. We telephoned repeatedly, but the answer was always the same; "nothing to report". Dick and I, therefore, took the train back to Frankfort, while Fritz stayed in Bonn and, in the evening, he telephoned that he had finally got some information from Lenz' young assistant that Lenz had turned the entire matter over to a regular Foreign Office official named Strohm, and that we were to make arrangements to see Strohm. Fritz said that he had endeavored to do this, but had been told by Strohm's office that he could not be sure to see us until Thursday, the 28th, although Wednesday, the 27th, was a slight possibility.

As I think I wrote C.D., the Fasching celebrations were reaching their climax over that weekend, and the first two days of the next week, and I have no doubt that Strohm's unavailability was, to a certain extent, related to Fasching. Fritz said that during his visit to the Foreign Office building he noticed that the rooms were all decorated with Fasching decorations, so that even the highest officials apparently take Fasching seriously. Not wanting to make another fruitless trip to Bonn, I decided we would accept Strohm's appointment for Thursday, February 28th.

At 10.30 AM on Thursday, February 28th, Dick, Fritz and I presented ourselves at Strohm's office. We were met by a sober and not too effusive individual, named Bruckner, who informed us that, unfortunately, Dr. Strohm had been called away from his office, that he would return as soon as

he could and that, meanwhile, he - Bruckner - would be glad to start preliminary discussions.

Again, I placed a somewhat sinister interpretation on what appeared to be a chronic tendency on the part of the German officials authorized to negotiate with us to be absent whenever we put in an appearance for the purpose of negotiating with them. My pessimism was increased by the very rigid and uncooperative attitude of Bruckner, although I realized that having no authority and probably having been insufficiently briefed he was, naturally, keeping his neck well within the protection of his collar. In any case, he brought up some of the stickiest questions connected with our operation, talked of parliamentary interpellations, of the responsibility of the German authorities for anything broadcast from German soil, of the importance of German participation in determining program content, of the dangers of arousing refugee antagonism, and so on and so forth.

After an hour of this, I was ready to call it a day and suggest that we come back when we could talk to Strohm but, fortunately, at that moment Strohm came in and the entire atmosphere changed. He apologized profusely - and apparently sincerely - for the delay, expressed himself anxious to cooperate in every possible way to meet our requirements, brushed aside some of the technicalities raised by Bruckner, and got down to the essentials very rapidly. We went over the ground we had previously gone over with Bruckner, we explained our purpose and kept our feet fairly firmly planted on the principles which we regarded as basic. The result of our long discussion was substantial agreement on the two things that mattered most:

a) license term of five years, and

b) no unqualified cancellation right of the kind first suggested by the Bundespost, and more or less insisted upon by Bruckner.

The area of agreement was so broad that we suggested an adjournment to permit us to put in writing the agreement we had reached, return with it to the Foreign Office, and agree upon a final text.

Fritz was a little too optimistic regarding the task that lay before us, and it was clear an hour or so before the time fixed for our afternoon appointment that we would not be ready, so we telephoned to Strohm and postponed the appointment until the next day at noon. We worked all afternoon at HICOG, and until after midnight in our Cologne hotel. We had talked about an exchange of letters as the vehicle for the agreement, but it became difficult to determine who was writing what to whom since the Germans could not

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very well offer to give us something we had not asked for, and we, the New York State Corporation, could hardly demand certain rights from the German Government.

Nothing that we were able to compose satisfied my requirements until shortly before midnight the use of a new formula, namely, a memorandum of understanding between me, representing NCFE, and Dr. ________ (whether Strohm, Lenz, or Hallstein -which I do not know) representing the German Government, could be initialed and made the basis for agreement. This formula broke the mental log-jam, and we did a paper, a copy of which is enclosed.

Friday morning, we went back to HICOG, Dick typed the manuscript which Fritz and I had prepared, and we took a copy in to Sam Reber. Sam raised a few questions which we were easily able to answer, made one suggestion, namely, the insertion of the word "basic" in the 8th line on page 3, then expressed himself as completely satisfied. He attached the very greatest importance to getting from the Germans the endorsement of RFE's objectives, which they had given to us orally and which we expressed in the paragraph commencing at the bottom of page 2. He thought we would have accomplished the almost impossible if we obtained such written endorsement.

From HICOG we went direct to Dr. Strohm's office, showed him the memorandum (Fritz had not had time to prepare a German translation and we were afraid this might delay matters, but Strohm said he found the text entirely clear) and got from him immediately a practically complete approval. Bruckner joined us a little later, and he followed Strohm's lead. There were only two points of difference between us, and neither of them did I regard as substantial. You will see that on page 4 I asked for agreement that the German Government would cooperate with us to the fullest possible extent in respect of three items, only one of which, namely, (c) was within the competency of the Foreign Office. Strohm and Bruckner argued very logically that the Foreign Office could not bind the Finance Ministry or any other Ministry of the German Government and advised very earnestly against seeking in advance to obtain the approval of the Finance Ministry. I recognized the validity of both these points. I incorporated items (a) and (b) in the paper because I did not know who would sign on the part of the German Government. Had it been Adenauer or, by his instructions, Hallstein, it could be argued that their signatures did in effect bind the entire Government. If, however, it was to be Strohm, as he indicated it would be, then, obviously, he was without power in the premises. It was agreed, therefore, that (a) and (b) would be omitted, and that instead thereof Strohm would draft a general clause binding the Foreign Office to cooperate to the fullest possible extent with NCFE in reaching satisfactory solutions of any problems arising between NCFE and any

Ministries of the German Government.

Item (c), obviously, was intended to cover particularly the question of visas for Poles now in London who had been recruited for program work in Munich. In our talks on Thursday, Strohm had promised to facilitate the entry of these Poles, and said that if Dick would send in their names, birth dates and any other identifying information we had he would instruct the German Consul in London to issue the visas, and that general instructions would, if we wished, be sent out to the effect that possession of an employment letter from NCFE would be sufficient justification for the issuance of a visa, subject only to the security question. On that point, Strohm expressed the wish that our recruits be screened for us by CIC. We pointed out the impracticability of this.

I call your particular attention to the language of the two full paragraphs on page 3. This was very carefully devised, and I am convinced that it is more favorable to us than we had any reason to expect. As I told you, Reber accepted it with the single change mentioned above. Nelson and Thurston thought it excellent, and Charley Lewis, to whom I showed it Friday, said it was "the optimum".

The Germans had indicated a desire for some kind of a pre-scrutiny of our programs to avoid political conflict. This would, of course, have fatally crippled our effectiveness, so the language that I drafted was drafted for the purpose of emphasizing the post-broadcast nature of any German scrutiny. In order to avoid frivolous complaints from any German official, I stipulated that any protest must reach NCFE through the Foreign Office. This, also, places NCFE in a position to put any such controversy before the State Department, and if the issue involved is a substantial one to have ~~the~~ State do the necessary vis-a-vis the Foreign Office. If, notwithstanding the German protest, and notwithstanding the intervention of the State Department, should the latter wish to become involved, RFE continued to violate the German request, I phrased the next step as involving the surrender by us of the license rather than its cancellation. This may be a fine point, but I felt it interposed one more step between the fall of the guillotine axe and the dropping of the head in the basket. I found, to my relief, that the use of the Portuguese formula, namely, the filing of the broadcast tapes for thirty days to permit examination by the Germans was a completely acceptable device, and you will note that I based this procedure on the desirability of providing a "factual basis for the consideration of any question".

We left with Dr. Strohm a copy of this memorandum of understanding, and he undertook to prepare and forward to me in Paris a draft of a letter incorporating our agreement as set forth in the memorandum, with the modifications outlined above, which the Foreign Office would be prepared

officially to address to NCFE immediately upon the coming into effect of the contractual agreements, and which would have attached to it a copy of the license which would be granted by the Bundespost as of the date of the coming into effect of the contractual agreements. This letter, when acknowledged and accepted by NCFE, would constitute, with the license, the agreement between the parties. Dr. Strohm promised to have the draft in Paris by Wednesday or Thursday of this week.

Fritz is in London this week in connection with the German debts negotiations, but will return for the week-end at which time he and I will go over the draft together. It seems to both of us unlikely that we shall be able to accept Dr. Strohm's draft without any change whatsoever, and it will, therefore, probably be necessary for us to go back to Bonn for one or perhaps two days to iron out any remaining difficulties to agree on a final text and to initial such text with the Germans for the purpose of recording our agreement.

Both Fritz and I are astonished at the apparent ease with which our negotiations progressed. We were able to reach agreement on the most important questions concerned, but we are both cautious and we both realize that between last Friday's agreement and next Thursday's draft letter there may be some vast divergencies, but certainly if the spoken word can be relied upon, and if a friendly, cooperative and even generous attitude on the part of the principal German officials of the Bundespost and Foreign Office to whom we spoke is significant, the German authorities are genuinely anxious to make it possible for RFE to continue to operate effectively, I think that we are all justified in feeling very much encouraged by what it has been possible to accomplish in the past two weeks.

If the above time schedule can be observed, and if not later than Tuesday of next week we can have the documents in final shape and duly initialed, I plan to leave Paris for Lisbon, via Panair do Brasil, on Thursday, the 13th, stay in Lisbon not more than one week, and be back in New York around the 21st.

I enclose a copy of the English translation of the proposed Bundespost license as agreed upon on February 19th, with the new Article III referred to above, and a copy of the draft Memorandum of Understanding dated February 29, 1952, so that you may have before you all the relevant papers.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert E. Lang,
Director, RFE,
110 West 57th Street,
New York 19, N.Y. - U.S.A.

cc Mr. C.D. Jackson, Admiral Miller, Mr. J.C. Hughes,
Mr. F.C. Kempner

I. The Bundesminister fuer das Post- und Fernmeldewesen hereby grants to the NCFE, a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York (USA) recognized in the Federal Republic as a foreign "Verein", a licence to operate the radio installations listed and specified in the Annex as foreign radio station on German territory on the following conditions.

1. In operating the radio installations the NCFE will use only the frequencies and call signs allocated to it from time to time by the competent authorities of the USA, and duly notified by said authorities to the competent organs of the International Telecommunications Union.

2. The radio installations may be only operated for broadcasting purposes (Radio Regulations Chapter I Article I Section II n. 21 and 22)* of the NCFE; international point to point connections for broadcasting purposes are also permitted subject to the consent of interested foreign administrations; for purposes of third parties the radio installations may not be used without prior written consent of the BPMin.

3. Without prior written consent of the BPMin NCFE is not permitted to change the technical specifications of the above mentioned radio transmitting installations or to put additional radio transmitting installations into operation; changes in frequencies and call signs/used must be notified to the BPMin in advance.

* Broadcasting Service:
21 a) A radiocommunication service of transmissions to be received directly by the general public.
22 b) This service may include transmissions of sounds or transmissions by television, facsimile or other means.

4. The radio installations will be operated in accordance with the provisions of the International Telecommunications Convention presently in force (Atlantic City 1947) and the Radio Regulations annexed to said convention and any conventions or Regulations, to which the Federal Republic is a party which may take their place.
5. In the event of interference by NCFE radio installations with German radio services NCFE in consultation with the DBP will take necessary measures to eliminate the interference as rapidly as possible.
6. Duly accredited representatives of DBP shall be accorded free access to all technical installations of NCFE's radio stations in Germany during office hours as well as outside office hours, the latter only upon prior notification.
7. NCFE shall reimburse DBP for all sums which DBP is obliged to expend as a result of accidents suffered by any of its employees in the performance of their duties on the premises of NCFE.
8. The license fee for the above-mentioned radio installations is fixed at $ 10,000.-- per year, payable in advance in quarterly installments on the first of each quarter by remittance to Bank Deutscher Laender in favor of the Generalpostkasse of DBB, except that as a first installment there shall be paid an amount computed pro rata temporis from the date of the license to the first of the next following quarter.

II. This license is not transferable. It can be revoked at any time without notice if

1) one of the conditions of the license (I) should be violated and such violation should continue despite request to desist;

III) This license shall be valid for a period of five years commencing with the date of its issuance and will be autbmaticall extended thereafter from year to year unless written notice of termination is given by one party to the other not less than 9o days prior to the next expiration date.

IV) In the event of revocation (II) or of expiration (III) of the license the operation of the radio installations shall be discontinued at once.

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Draft   29 Feb 1952

Memorandum of understanding between Mr. Phenix, representing the NCFE and Dr. ____________, representing the Federal German Republic

Mr. Phenix stated that the NCFE had been founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens animated by the desire to encourage by positive measures the eventual liberation from the communist yoke of the peoples of the enslaved countries of Central and Eastern Europe. He explained that with the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee had undertaken, among its other activities, the operation through Radio Free Europe of radio broadcasting installations through which it disseminated to listeners in the Iron Curtain countries programs especially prepared by the Committee for the furtherance of its objectives. He pointed out that Radio Free Europe had constructed and was presently operating transmitter stations at Holzkirchen and Biblis, had erected a large studio and office building in Munich and maintained a large monitoring establishment at Schleissheim and that its programs were prepared with the help of leading scholars, journalists, administrators and economic experts, and men of letters who have escaped from the communist control of their native land.

Mr. Phenix explained that the installation of RFE facilities in the United States Zone of Germany had been effected by the NCFE during the occupation of that Zone

by the U.S. Army and that the operations of RFE had been, and were being facilitated by the U.S. Army authorities because of RFE's status as an accredited American information agency. He observed that the NCFE was concerned lest the termination of the Occupation Status would, in the absence of specific agreement with the Federal German Republic, result in hampering the work of RFE and impairing its effectiveness, and that, with the approval of the Department of State, negotiations had been carried on with the BPMin which had resulted in agreement as to the terms of a license which would be granted by the BPMin to NCFE immediately upon the termination of the Occupation Statute. A copy of that license is appended hereto.

Mr. Phenix called attention to the fact that this license dealt with the technical aspects of RFE's radio broadcast operations and that there were several non-technical matters which required clarification before the NCFE would feel justified in undertaking the long range program it has under consideration.

Dr. __________ stated that the objectives and purposes of NCFE, in the realization of which RFE was engaged, were objectives and purposes to which the Federal Government itself was unalterably committed. The negotiations for a BPMin license had been conducted with his full knowledge and approval. He was well aware that by licensing RFE's operation in Germany, fully cognizant of the objectives and purposes of that operation, the Federal Government was on the one hand encouraging the expenditure by NCFE for that operation of large sums of money contributed by the American public and on the other

was giving NCFE an assurance that RFE's operation in Germany would not be interfered with, but on the contrary would be facilitated and helped by the Federal Government.

From his viewpoint there was only one reservation he had to make: RFE would be expected to refrain from using its broadcast facilities on German soil for the purpose of advocating and promoting political ends which the Federal Government considered in conflict with its own basic policies. Hence, the Federal Government would have the right, officially to notify NCFE through the Foreign Office of any such conflict. Should the German stations of RFE thereupon not refrain from advocating and promoting the policies to which the Federal Government had objected, the Federal Government would have no choice but to require the surrender by NCFE of its license and the discontinuance of its broadcast operations from German territory.

Mr. Phenix stated that he understood the reasons for the views expressed by Dr. ________, accepted his reservation, and agreed to the procedure outlined, and that to provide a factual basis for the consideration of any question which might arise in respect of RFE broadcasts the latter would keep on file for a period of 30 days from the date of use all tapes recording programs broadcast from RFE transmitters in Germany so that any questioned program would be available to the appropriate German authorities when requested by them. Mr. Phenix then emphasized the importance attached by NCFE to certain other aspects of the operating problems of RFE, for example:

(a) that property of NCFE brought into Germany prior to the termination of the Occupation Statute be recognized as legally within Germany and subject to the free disposition of NCFE.

(b) that NCFE be recognized as a non-profit organization of public interest and that in respect of its operations in Germany it and its employees are entitled to no less favorable treatment than any comparable German non-profit corporation or entity.

(c) that the non-German personnel now employed by NCFE in Germany be permitted to remain in Germany while so employed and that additional non-German employees be permitted to enter Germany for such employment subject only to the right of the competent Germany authorities to deny entry to any individual whose presence in Germany would in their opinion prejudice German internal security.

Dr.__________ stated that he recognized the importance of these elements in the operation of RFE in Germany and that the Federal German Republic would cooperate with NCFE to the fullest possible extent in meeting its requirements with respect thereto.